Londinum Triumphans,

OR AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

Grand Influence

THE

ACTIONS

OF THE

CITY of LONDON

Have had upon the AFFAIRS of the NATION for many Ages past.

SHEWING,

The *Antiquity*, *Honour*, *Glory* and *Renown* of this FAMOUS CITY; The *Grounds* of her *Rights*, *Priviledges* and *Franchises*; The *Foundation* of her CHARTER; The *Improbability* of its *Forfeiture*, or *Seisure*; The *Power* and *Strength* of the *Citizens*, and the *several Contests* that have been *betwixt* the *Magistracy*, and the *Commonalty*.

Collected from the most *Authentick Authors*, and illustrated with variety of REMARKS.

Worthy the perusal of every CITIZEN.

By WILLIAM GOUGH, Gent.

Nullum est jam dictum, quod non dictum sit prius.

No new thing under the Sun.

LONDON,

Printed for the Author and are to be Sold by *Thomas Simmons* at the *Princes Armes* in *Ludgate-street*. 1682.

THE DEDICATION

To the HONOURABLE

SIr *Thomas Allen*, Kt.
Sir *John Frederick*, Kt.
Sir *John Lawrence*, Kt.
Sir *Robert Clayton*, Kt.
Sir *Patience Ward*, Kt.
Sir *Thomas Gold*, Kt.
Sir *John Shorter* Kt. and
Henry Corniſh, Eſq; } Aldermen of the City of *LONDON*.

And to the Worſhipful

Thomas Pilkington, Eſq; Another of the Aldermen of the ſaid City, and *Samuel Shute*, Eſq; } The Worthy SHERIFFS for the year Paſt.

Sir *Thomas Player*, Kt. Chamberlain of the ſame,
Thomas Papillion, Eſq;
John Dubois, Eſq;

And to all the reſt of thoſe Eminent *Citizens* who have ſo *worthily* aſſerted the *Rights*, *Liberties*, *Priviledges*, *Franchiſes*, and *Immunities* of this *Ancient* and *Honourable* CITY. This *Book* is moſt HUMBLY DEDICATED by.

1014883

W. G.

TO THE READER:

IF Antiquity and Duration, wealth and riches, ſtrength and power, can make a City famous: If an honourable renown, viſible grandeur, and unparallel'd priviledges may render her glorous in the eyes of the World: If the Spirit of her Citizens, influence of her actions, and a continued train of Succeſſes can juſtly give her the denomination of powerful; Then may this great ancient, and renowned City of London *deſervedly be eſteem'd one of the eminenteſt Cities of the Univerſe, unleſs the Lie be given to the moſt Authentick of all our Engliſh Hiſtorians, and we muſt not, like the Papiſts, believe our own eyes, nor give credit to our ears, but bid adieu to all rational knowledge, and deny the force of true Logical Illations, inferences, and concluſions.*

Such

Such being the ſubject, of this following Treatiſe, purpoſely deſign'd for a demonſtration of Londons *power, and a convincing argument of the irreſiſtible influence of her actions over all the Nation for many hundreds of years, ſtrongly founded on undeniable Truths, and throughout carried on, in an uninterrupted ſeries of affairs, by a train of inſtances and examples, and an unbroken chain of inductions: And being conſcious to my ſelf of no baſe ſlurs nor abuſes ingentilely impos'd upon the faith of any one, by falſe quotations, corrupting of Authors, or wilful miſtakes, as knowing my ſelf eaſily diſprov'd if guilty, and therefore ſo much the more cautious, by how much the more certain, that theſe Papers would be made to undergo the ſevere Ordeal of a ſtrict and rigid examination from a critical age, I am apt to flatter my ſelf into the hopes of being accepted among the lovers and admirers of this Honourable City, and of having preſented*

ſented the worthy Citizens with ſome-what grateful, pleaſing, and delight-ful to their palates, becauſe treating of their Anceſtors glory and renown, their own power, and the neceſſary conſe-quence thereof, the grand influence of their publick actions and fixt reſoluti-ons upon the Councils of this Kingdom. But whether my truſt and confidence in my own poor abilities, and my hopes are ſo good, as my ambition is great to ſerve this Honourable City, and I have any ſound reaſons to believe it within the ſphear of my Capacity, and the power of my pen, to lay any thing look-ing like an obligation upon the worſhip-ful Citizens thereof, others are the moſt proper judges, and the event will beſt ſhew. If any, out of prejudice to the ſubject and a cenſorious Spirit, ſhall lay it to my charge; that the whole book looks reflective, in anſwer to the impu-tation, I ſhall humbly deſire this favour at his hands, that he would be pleas'd to give himſelf the trouble of turning to

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the Authors, to whom I ſo often refer, and thence he may be abundantly ſatisfied of my honeſty and ſincerity, if he be not over much prejudic'd already, or of ſo narrow a Soul, as to be wholly and altogether byaſs'd to the intereſt of any one particular party againſt the plaineſt evidence of ſenſe, reaſon, and truth. Beſides in my further vindication I can aſſure him, that a great part hereof was drawn up the laſt Autumn, *and undeniably prove it too, by demonſtrative Arguments, if need were. So that if it had appear'd in the world ſo early, as was at firſt deſigned, though I have been unwillingly hindered hitherto, ſome on the other ſide might have been by this time ready to have term'd it predictive: Though it was never intended as the off-ſpring of Prophecy or Aſtrology, but only the reſult of an ordinary judgment, and common foreſight, grounded on eaſy unforc'd deductions from plain hiſtorical truths, and the apparent conſequences of things acted on*

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the Engliſh ſtage heretofore. Therefore I ſhall not value the impertinence of weekly Obſervations, nor dread the doughty remarks of the whole Tribe of common ordinary Scriblers, as thinking my ſelf ſecure within the ſtrength of the argument, and the authorities here produc'd to confirm and illuſtrate it; whereupon, I am bold to defie the art and malice of evil minded men to diſprove me in any thing neceſſarily material as to the ſubſtantial part thereof, though as to what concerns any of the leſſer Errata, I hope the courteous Reader *will be ſo much a Gentleman, as to look on them but as venial errours, and favourably paſs over thoſe ſlips of my* Pen, *if he apprehend any ſuch, as unavoidable weakneſſes always incident to human frailty.* For *I profeſs my ſelf rather a Tranſcriber than an Author, and eſteem this Relation the product of my reading more than the iſſue of my brain: Which if it may be in any wiſe advantageous to the publick, and ac-*

ceptable

ceptable to the Learned and Ingenious, I know not but, upon good encouragement, I may be ready enough to produce ſomewhat elſe more extenſive, than to the Rights of one particular City, though it be acknowledged time out of mind to have been the Epitome and Abridgment of the Kingdom.

THE

Londinum Triumphans.

HOW conſiderable a Figure the City of *London* makes in the preſent Government, is conceal'd (I ſuppoſe) but from few in the Land: But the Influence its Actions have had upon the Affairs of the Nation in paſt Ages, is not ſo generally known. The Glory and Splendor of this Noble City, is ſo obvious to the Eyes of the Curious, that they cannot rationally conceive it to be the Work of a Day, or an Age; but that, like other Cities eminent in Story, it hath riſen up by Degrees from ſmall Beginnings, to its preſent Greatneſs, through a long Tract of Time, and the Concurrence of many conſiderable Circumſtances to make it Famous. The Original of this City is ſufficiently acknowledg'd to be Antient; but where to fix the true and certain Bounds of its Antiquity, is not ſo eaſily agreed upon by Writers. What one ſets down for a Truth, another many times eſteems to be Fabulous. Scarce any thing being more common amongſt the Learned, than to have different Sentiments about the Original of Things, and be at variance amongſt themſelves about the firſt Beginnings of Times and Places. True indeed, we can deduce the very firſt Origine of the World, from the Sacred Leaves of Holy Writ; but They, who have not had the Benefit of thoſe Heavenly Oracles,

or do not with Us believe their Divine Verity, are compell'd to grope in the Miſts of Darkneſs and Confuſion, while they ſearch after the Firſt Exiſtence of all Things in the Writings of Prophane Authors. The prime Pieces of Antiquity, that we meet with amongſt the *Heathens*, are the *Theban*, and the *Trojan* Wars; and thoſe too ſullied with the Fabulous Narrations of their Poetical Writers. Beſides which, we ſcarce find amongſt them any thing deſerving Credence and Belief, except the mention of the *Argonaut*'s Voyage, and a few Paſſages more: All the reſt are hudled up in ſuch a confuſed Maſs of Fables and Fictions. And yet theſe ſo celebrated Pieces bear Date ſome hundreds of Years after the *Flood*. So ſhort do the Prophane Writings fall of the Divine, even in Time, as well as Truth; unleſs we account the *Dynaſtyes* of the *Ægyptian Kings*, (mentioned by ſome Writers worthily eſteem'd Fabulous) for true *Hiſtory*, and make any Reckoning of ſome Men's Relations; who tell us of *Chronologies* amongſt the *Chineſes*, of Thouſands of Years before the *Creation*, according to our Account: The whole Tranſactions whereof, they would do well to produce in our *European World*, that we might be able to judge, what Credit ought to be given to their Words; and not any longer ſuſpect, that they ſhield themſelves under the Protection of the Priviledge antiently allow'd to *Poets* and *Travellers*.

Seeing then, in theſe Humane Writings, we are left ſo much in the Dark, in what concerns the Firſt Being of the Univerſe; we have little Reaſon to wonder at the variety of Men's Opinions about the Settling of Nations, and firſt Inhabiting of Countries: Much leſs are we to admire, that the Foundations of Antient Cities are involv'd in ſo

much

much Obſcurity, that we can ſcarce trace them up to their Original, without being often put to the ſtand in our Searches; as finding but little certain Truth, mix't with a great deal of apparent Falſhood. Therefore, I hope, the *Courteous Reader* will the more readily pardon what he meets with of Humane Infirmity and Frailty, in this Attempt; and paſs over the *Errata*'s he finds in this *Hiſtorical Relation*, as Venial Faults.

SHOULD I lay the Foundation of this Honourable City in the Days of *Brute*, I might to ſome ſeem a Relater of Fables. Should I not trace its Original ſo high, others might be apt to think, I ſlighted its Antiquity. So difficult a thing it is to pleaſe *all*, ſo in a manner impoſſible to diſpleaſe *none*. Let me do the utmoſt of my Endeavours to avoid the Imputation of ſeeming Fabulous, I ſhould nevertheleſs be in doubt, where ſafely to fix, by reaſon of the different Eſteem Men have of different Ages. One preferring *This*, Another *That*, and a Third (perhaps) valuing *Neither*; as thinking the *Relation* of Things done in Times, ſo far diſtant from Ours, not worth our Regard. Wherefore, rather chuſing the Part of a Faithful *Hiſtorian*, than courting Men's Favour and Applauſe, I ſhall deliver ſome of the moſt material Paſſages, which I find of this Antient City upon Record: Only, with this Requeſt unto the *Reader*, That as he ſees Cauſe, he would judge of me as an *Impartial Relater*, without thinking me over ready to give Credit to all, that Authors have ſaid of thoſe Elderly Times.

The *Trojan* War hath been ſo Celebrated by *Homer*'s Pen, that the Fall of *Troy* may deſervedly be judg'd to have rais'd it higher upon the Wings of Fame, than if it had ſtill continued in its antient

Grandeur. For I find it to have been the Ambition of many Writers, in some Ages past, to draw the Original of their own Nations, from some War-like *Hero* of the *Trojan* Race. The *Romans* Glory in the *Trojan* Blood, as drawing their Pedigree from *Æneas*, and the *Trojans*, that he brought with him into *Italy*. *Padua* is deriv'd from *Antenor*, another *Trojan* Leader. And not to mention any more, *Brute* descended of *Æneas*, with his *Trojans*, is said by some to have given Original to the *British Nation*. That this hath been the Endeavours of some Authors, is plain enough, as being Matter of Fact; but the Reason of this Design is not so obvious, unless it may be lawful to conjecture, That in the grosser Times of *Popery*, the Scriptures being kept from the Eyes of the Vulgar, by being lock't up in unknown Languages, and the *Monkish* Writers lacking either Will or Ability to peruse them; and so becoming ignorant of *Divine History*, thought it the readiest way to ennoble their own Nations, by deriving them from some of the Antientest *Hero*'s, that they meet with in *Heathen Story*. Or else, depending upon *Rome*, as their *Mother-Church*, they were desirous to vye with her in their Original, as well as accord with her in Religion. Whether *Brute* Descended from *Æneas*, by a Son of his Eldest Son *Ascanius*, or by his Younger Son, born of *Lavina*, is a Point not fully decided among *Historians*.

This *Brute*, Exil'd his Country (according to some) for having accidentally slain his Father, with his *Trojans*, after many Chances, and Dangers past, is said to have directed his Course towards this *Western Island*, by the Advice of *Diana*, which he receiv'd in his Sleep, in an Old Temple of hers, standing in a Part of *Affrica*. In his Sailing hitherward,

therward, he met with (it ſeems) a ſmall Navy of *Trojan* Ships, under the Conduct of his Nephew *Corineus*; and joyning together, at length, after other Dangers over-paſt, he Landed in *Cornwal*, at a Place ſince known by the Name of *Totneſs*. This was in the Year ſince the Worlds Creation, 4063. according to *Fabian*, (who profeſſes to follow the Account of the LXX.) about the Time of *Ely's* being High-Prieſt in *Iſrael*, Forty Years after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, (which is held by ſome to have fall'n out in the Time of *Abdon*'s being Judge in *Iſrael*) before the Building of *Rome* Four Hundred and twenty Years, before our *Saviour Chriſt*'s Incarnation, One Thouſand One Hundred and Thirty Six. But in this Point *Chronologers* differ: *Stow* places it *Anno Mund.* 2855. before *Chriſt*'s Nativity 1108.

After *Brute*'s Landing, in his Searching the Country, he is ſaid to have deſtroy'd I know not how many great and mighty Gyants; one whereof, named *Gogmagog*, wreſtled forſooth with *Corineus*; and having of him caught a Fall down *Dover*-Clifts, left his Name to the Place. Thoſe *Monkiſh* Writers ſcarce thinking their *Hero*'s Valour ſufficiently Celebrated, unleſs they make them meet with, and encounter ſome ſuch Gygantick Adventures; where the little Knight ſhall be ſure to over-come the great Gyant.

Brute having beſtowed *Cornwal* upon *Corineus*, after he had throughly ſearched the Land, for the Pleaſure he took in *Thames*, he laid There (as we are told) the Foundation of a City, about the Second Year after his Landing in this Iſle; and, in remembrance of Old *Troy*, named it *Troynovant*: which Name it held till the Time of King *Lud*, near upon One Thouſand and Sixty Eight Years;

from whom 'twas named *Lud's-Town*, afterwards *London*, as ſhall be declared in Proceſs of Story.

What Repute and Eſteem this City was of in thoſe Days, as being Builded by the Firſt Founder of the *Britiſh Empire*, I ſhall leave to the *Reader's* Conſideration; who may find it honoured with the Sepulture of many of their Kings, as of *Brute* himſelf, and his Eldeſt Son *Locrine*, to whom in the Diviſion made by his Father, fell Middle *England* for his Share; wherein *Troynovant* was ſituated: To whom may be added *Cunedagius*, and *Gorbodug* the Father of *Ferrex* and *Porrex*, the Laſt of *Brute's* Line.

But now the Coaſt begins to clear up a little more, after the Storms of Civil Wars, by the Succeſs of *Mulmutius Dunwallo*, Son of *Cloton*, Duke of *Cornwal*. This *Dunwallo* having vanquiſhed the other Competitors, and ſettled the Land, cauſed a Temple to be builded in *Troynovant*, and named it the *Temple of Peace*; the ſame (according to ſome Men's Opinions) that now is called *Blackwell-Hall*, a Place well known to the Clothiers. His Fame is much increas'd by the many good Ordinances he made, which were called *Mulmutius's* Laws, and uſed long after his Deceaſe.

That this City of *Troynovant*, was of Repute and Renown in this ſo Famous a Man's Days, is hardly to be doubted of by him, that conſiders ſo eminent a Circumſtance, as the Building of a *Temple of Peace* within the Circuit of this City, as an Effect of that Peace he had ſo happily ſettled in the Land; and, it may be, in Gratitude to the Citizens, who probably favour'd his Cauſe, and ſo might much influence his Actions and Enterprizes. In the ſame *Temple of Peace* was he laid after his Death, which he had been the Occaſion of Building in his Life.

In

In the Time of *Belinus* and *Brennus*, his Sons, after their Reconcilement & Accord, we read of their going to *Troynovant*, with their Lords and Friends; where, after many things ordered for the Common Benefit of the Land, they joyntly agreed to lead both their Hosts over the Sea, to subdue other Countrys; the Smart of which Voyage the *Romans* felt sufficiently under *Brennus*, and his *Gauls*. By *Belinus* we find, that an Haven was built in the same *Troynovant*, with a Gate over it, call'd even at this Day, *Belings-gate*; on whose Pinnacle was set a Brazen Vessel, which contain'd the Ashes of his Body, burnt after his Death. In this City we likewise find, that *Gurguintus* was Buried, and also *Guintellius*, his Son; from whose Wife *Marcia* came the *Marcian-Law*, fam'd long after among the *Britains* and *Saxons*.

These being of some Eminency in their Lives, and Buried in this City after their Deaths; It may, I presume, safely be concluded, That they lived most therein, as their Principal City, and the Metropolis of the Realm. Yet we read of other Cities of Note, in those Times, and after; as of *York* for one, where *Archigallo* (before depos'd by his Lords, for his ill Government) was, through the Intercession of *Elidurus* his Brother, then Reigning, at a Councel of the *Britains* by him call'd, restor'd to his former Dignity; When the same *Elidurus* had gain'd the Assent of his Barons, and the good Will of the Commons.

However, *Troynovant* seems, in those Days, to have been esteem'd a Place of Security; and mention of a Tower therein we find, on Occasion of the same foremention'd *Elidurus*'s being sent thither by his unkind younger Brothers, to be safely kept as a Prisoner therein.

The ſucceeding Times are ſo barbarous, that but little conſiderable is left upon Record, concerning any Actions then done; untill we come to the Reign of *Lud*, Eldeſt Son of *Heli*, which began about Sixty Six Years before our Bleſſed *Saviours Incarnation*, according to *Stow*.

This Man is much prais'd by the Hiſtorian, for his Worthy Actions, and Honourable Deeds; for his Valour, Liberality, and Hoſpitable Houſekeeping; and his repairing Old Cities, and Towns. Eſpecially in *Troynovant* he is Recorded to have cauſed many Buildings to be made, encompaſſing it alſo round with a ſtrong Wall of Lime and Stone. In the Weſt-Part whereof ſtands a Gate by him Builded, and known, even at this Day, by the Name of *Ludgate*. For his Love to this City, he uſed moſt to abide therein; Whereupon it was called *Caer-Lud*, or *Lud's Town*: Whence by Corruption, and ſhortning of Words, comes the preſent Name *London*; whereby it ſhall be called for the future, and the former Name, *Troynovant*, laid aſide in this following *Relation*. *Lud* dying after an Honourable Reign, he was Buried in the aforementioned Gate of his, named *Port-Lud*, or *Lud-gate*; where are yet ſtanding the Statues of Him, and his Sons, as a laſting Monument of his Memory.

In *Caſſibellan's* Reign, the next Succeſſour, (but whether Son or Brother to *Lud*, is not agreed upon by all Authors) we find conſiderable mention made of *London* in the Story, through Occaſion of *Caſſibellan's* Victory over the *Romans*, newly Landed under the Leading of *Julius Cæſar*, and twice repelled by the *Britans's* Valour. *London* was the Place appointed by the King, to Celebrate this Victory, return Thanks to his Gods, and Rewards to his Valourous Knights. Here therefore we read

of

of a great Aſſembly held of his Lords and Knights, and of the King's keeping a Noble and Solemn Feaſt for all Comers, and the Exerciſe of all kind of Games in thoſe Days uſed. But Difference ariſing at the Wreſtling between a couple of Young Noble Knights, allied, *One* of them to the King, and the *Other* to *Androgeus*, Earl or Duke of *London*, (as he is ſomewhere called) and from Words theſe Hotſpurs coming to Blows, occaſion'd ſuch ſideing and variance amongſt the Company, that many were wounded, and the Kings Nephew ſlain, to the great diſturbance of the Court.

For Diſguſt hence growing between the *King* and *Androgeus*, (to whom the King had given the City of *London*, with the *Dukedome* or Earldome of *Kent*, beſides an Honourable Education, ſuitable to his Birth, he being *Lud's* Eldeſt Son, and ſo Heir to the Kingdom, according to ſome Writers, the other being but his Brother) and this Diſguſt producing War, wherein the King was likely to be much the ſtronger; *Androgeus* recalls *Cæſar*, with his Romans, to his Aid, and aſſiſts them in their Landing; and joyning his whole Power, ſoon turn'd the Scales, bringing Victory to the *Romans*, and an Overthrow and Loſs of their ancient Freedome to *Caſſibellan*, and his *Britains*. So conſiderable was the Aſſiſtance, that *Androgeus*, with his *Londoners*, and other Knights, brought to the Enemy: So difficult was it, even to *Cæſar* himſelf, to Conquer *Britain*, having been more than once foil'd by the *Britains*. *Cæſar* tells us of the *Trynobants* being the ſtrongeſt of all thoſe *Cities* (by which underſtand *London*) which ſubmitted to him; over whom he placed, at their requeſt, one *Mandubratius*, whoſe Father, their chief Lord or Ruler, *Caſſibellan* had before Slain. Be theſe two

Hiſtories

Hiſtories the ſame or different; yet either, I believe, will ſerve to make good my Aſſertion of *Londons* Power, Fame, and Eſteem, in thoſe ancient Times.

Though *Britain* was hereby made Tributary; yet I do not find, that *London* loſt it's Eſteem. For *Tenancius* is ſaid to be Buried here; and alſo *Cunobelinus* or *Kymbeline*, his Son, both King's after *Caſſibellan*. In this *Kymbeline*'s Days, near about the Nineteenth Year of his Reign, or Fourteenth, according to *Stow*, Our Bleſſed Saviour, *Chriſt Jeſus*, was Born, as is the Opinion of moſt Writers. Henceforth therefore, leaving off the Old way of accounting from the World's Creation, I ſhall follow the Chriſtian manner of Computation, reckoning from the Birth of our Lord *Chriſt* (which was in the Forty Second Year of *Auguſtus*'s Empire) as a ſurer, and more certain way.

Except the Crowning of *Arviragus* in *London*, I find but little mention of this Honourable City, till the Reign of King *Lucius*, who being eſteemed by many the firſt Chriſtian King in the World, turn'd the *Arch-flamins*-See at *London* into an Arch-Biſhoprick; the Names of ſome of which Arch-Biſhops we meet with ever and anon in Story, as ſuch who had a conſiderable Power in the Land.

About 226. *London* was of ſuch Strength, that *Alectus*, with his *Romans*, (as *Fabian* relates) being over-preſs'd by the *Britains*, under the Leading of *Aſclepiodotus*, choſe this City for his Refuge, as being then (it ſeems) of greateſt Security; and He being afterwards ſlain, *Livius Gallus*, another *Roman* Leader, manfully defended himſelf, and his *Romans*, in the ſame City, then cloſely beſieged by the *Britains*; till in their entring, he was ſlain near a River running thereby, and thrown thereinto;

into; which occaſioned it afterwards, to be call'd *Gallus*, or *Wallus-Brook*: Some Memorial whereof we find remaining at this Day, in the Street now ſtanding, where that River ſometimes ran, and known by the Name of *Wall-brook*.

After the Departure of the *Romans* out of this Land, many Outrages being committed herein by the *Picts* and *Scots*, in the Time of the Emperour *Honorius*, we read of a Councel kept at *London*, by the Arch-Biſhop, with the nobleſt and wiſeſt of the *Britains*, to conſult of ſome Remedy for the many Miſeries then hanging over their Country, by reaſon of their Enemies Strength, and their own Inability to defend themſelves; as being then under no certain Head. The Reſult of which Meeting was to deſire Aid of the King of *Little Britain*, which they by Embaſſy obtain'd under the Conduct of his Brother *Conſtantinus*; and, after Victory by him gain'd over their Enemies, Crown'd him King of the Land, according to their Promiſe before made.

Here was a turn of Affairs effected by the Conſult at *London*. Another Change we find, not long after, through the Treachery of *Vortiger*, and the *Pict*, who ſlew *Conſtantinus*'s Son, *Conſtantius* then King, and preſented his Head to the aforenam'd *Vortiger*, then at *London*. Which City doubtleſs, in thoſe Days, was of much Eſteem and Regard; and thereupon *Vortiger* (who bare the Chief Rule in the Kingdom at that time, though the other had the Name of *King*) probably was much reſident therein; expecting, it may be, and waiting for the Performance of this Treaſonable Act; that he, being on the Place, might have the better Opportunity to careſs the Chief of that Eminent City. 'Tis certain, we find him afterwards endeavouring

ing to cajole the People, by the great Sorrow and Heavineſs he made ſhew of for the Kings Death, and by putting the accurſed Traytors to Death, for their Wicked Fact, according to the Law of the Land.

Thus many Love the Treaſon well enough, when ſucceſsful, who nevertheleſs hate the Traytors, after their own Turns be ſerv'd.

This is that *Vortiger*, ſo Infamous in the *Britiſh* Story, for his own Vices; as Inceſt with his own Daughter, Adultery, *&c.* and the Vices of the Times under him. For we read, that Vice was then accounted of ſmall, or no Offence. Leachery reigned amongſt the Spiritualty and Temporalty. Every one turned the Point of his Spear againſt the true and innocent Man; and the Commons gave them all to Idleneſs and Drunkenneſs; whence enſued Fighting, Strife, and much Envy. *After the King's Example, the World runs a gadding*, is a Saying commonly too true. As this *Vortiger* gain'd his Power by *Treachery*, ſo he Reigned in a manner *Precariouſly*. For he was ſo perplexed, on the one ſide, for fear of the Return of *Conſtantinus*'s ſurviving Sons, to claim the Kingdome; and the Land, on the other ſide, ſo harraſs'd by the In-rodes of the *Picts* and *Scots*, that he was after a ſort compell'd to ſend for the *Heathen Saxons*, who came (under their Leaders *Hengiſt* and *Horſus*) to ſupport him, about Four Hundred and Fifty Years after Our *Saviours Birth*.

The coming in of theſe Strangers prov'd but (as it were) the beginning of Miſeries. For being once let in, they ſoon began to Play their Reakes in the Land; and never left, till by introduceing more Colonies, they had ſettled themſelves, and diſpoſſeſſed the *Britains* of the beſt of the Country.

Neither

Neither was it any great wonder, that the poor Commons endur'd ſuch Miſeries from theſe Newcome Gueſts, when as their Spiritual and Temporal Guides were ſo given up to all manner of Debauchery. One of *Hengiſt's* Pranks we find to be, his Treacherous ſlaying of the *Britiſh* Lords at *Stonehenge*, on *Salisbury* Plains, under pretence of a Treaty for Peace. But the better to work out his own Ends, he is ſaid to have ſav'd the King alive, whom he knew to have become his Enemy in ſhew, more out of Conſtraint for fear of his *Britiſh* Lords, than for any Hatred towards him; he having him ſufficiently intangled in the Snares of his Daughter *Rowens* Beauty. So common a thing is it for crafty ſubtle Men, to ſerve their own Ends, by working upon anothers Luſts, through the Mediation of an handſome Face, and Proſtitute Body.

We read of the *Saxon's* having got *London* under their Rule; but whether by their own Power, or the King's Gift, I find not clearly mention'd. That he gave *Kent*, and other Counties to *Hengiſt*, is declar'd by the Hiſtorian. It may be, that he gave them alſo *London* to curb it; for fear leaſt the Citizens ſhould joyn with *Conſtantinus*'s Sons (whoſe Return he much dreaded) and aſſiſt them to regain their Fathers Kingdom.

Henceforward, for ſome time, we are not to expect to find *London* ſo Conſiderable in Power, under the *Saxon Heptarchy*, as it was before, and after. But when all the Seven were reduc'd into one Kingdome, and the Affairs of the Land ſettled in a little more Peace and Quietneſs, *London* began again more and more to Flouriſh, and ſoon roſe up to ſuch an height, that it became the fixt Metropolis of the Nation.

Yet

Yet in the Time of the *Saxon's Heptarchy*, we find mention made of this Noble City ſeveral times, and on ſeveral Occaſions. As upon account of *Mordred*'s chooſing this City to be Crown'd in, when he rebell'd againſt King *Arthur*: The holding of it by *Mordred's* Son againſt *Conſtantine*, Son of *Cador*, till he was ſlain: The Flying away of the Biſhops of *London* and *York*, and other Miniſters, with their Goods and Reliques, for fear of the *Saxon's* Cruelty under *Ethelfride*; Whereby the Commonalty were left without Spiritual Guides, the City without Her chief Paſtors: The ſetting up an Arch-Biſhoprick there, by *Auſtine* the *Monk*, and the making of *Melitus* Biſhop of the ſame, in *Ethelbert's* Days: The Building of St. *Pauls* either by the ſame *Ethelbert*, or elſe by *Sigebert* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, as ſome affirm.

In this *Ethelbert's* Time, we read in *Fabian*, of the Building the Firſt Church of *Weſtminſter*, in Honour of St. *Peter*, by a Citizen of *Lovdon*, in the Weſt-End of *London*, in a Place called *Thorny*, (now *Weſtminſter*) which before was over-grown with Buſhes and Briars. But *Stow* affirms *Sebert*, King of the Eaſt *Saxons*, to have Built it.

In the Time of *Ethelwolph*, Son of *Egbert*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, *London* is ſaid to be ſpoild by the *Danes*; and ſo not likely then to be of any great Strength, though we find the *Danes* drawing themſelves thitherward, in *Alured* or *Alfred's* Days, after an Agreement concluded between them.

But now again, begins this City to be often mentioned in Story, and grows more Famous every Day, after that King *Alured*, having Victoriouſly repeal'd the *Danes*, return'd thereunto, repair'd thoſe Places, that before had been injur'd by the *Danes*,

Danes, and committed it to the Guiding of *Ethelred*, Earl or Duke of *Mercia*, who was his Son-in-Law, by Marrying his Daughter *Elfleda*.

Hence may we date another Beginning, as it were, of it's Glory and Luſtre, from this new Reſurrection out of the Aſhes of its former Ruines. Some of the next News we hear of this Honourable City, is of the *Londoner's* beating away the *Danes*; who Landing in *Suſſex*, and comeing to the Town of *Lewes*, and thence towards *London*, had Builded a Caſtle near the River of *Lewes*, the more to annoy the Country; but the Citizens Valour, with the Countrys Help, ſoon demoliſhed it.

In the Reign of *Edward*, the Eldeſt Son to the forenamed *Alured*, we find *London* thought ſo conſiderable, that the King took it under his own Rule, not entruſting even his own Siſter therewith; thinking it probably too important a Charge, to be committed to any Subject, never ſo nearly related to him; becauſe of the Power that would accrue to the Poſſeſſor thereof, and the Danger might thereby happen to him (the King) in thoſe troubleſome Times, upon any the leaſt Difference ariſing between them.

When *Egelred* or *Etheldred*, Son of *Edgar*, rul'd the Land, we read of the *Danes* coming to *London* (they being ready enough to haunt any Place, that could afford them Spoil and Pillage) but we find that then they were repel'd by the Citizens. The City it ſeems, was ſtrong enough to defend their own.

But ſoon after that, another ſad Accident befell the City, againſt which it was not ſo well able to defend it ſelf, *viz.* A great Fire, whereby a large Part of it was deſtroyed. So rare is it, for any thing great in this World, to arrive at it's Greatneſs

neſs from ſmall Beginnings, without being Subject to many Miſchances, and meeting with many Turns and Changes of Fortune, before it can arrive at the height of its Grandeur.

Fabian tells us in his Chronicle, that the City had then the moſt Building from *Ludgate* towards *Weſtminſter*, and little or none where the Chief, or Heart of it now is; except that in diverſe Places there were Houſes; but they ſtood without Order. This he profeſſes to have known by an Old Book, in the *Guild-Hall*, named *Domeſday*. But where-ever the Building ſtood in thoſe Days, or how great Harm ſoever the Fire did it, nevertheleſs it continued of ſuch Strength and Riches, that the *Danes* were willing to have got it into their own Power; and in Order thereunto, beſieged it; but that they took it at that ſeaſon, I read not. Yet ſome Years after, I find the *Londoners* ſending Gifts and Pledges to the *Danes*, to divert them then coming towards *London*.

'Twas in *Egelred's* Days, that the *Danes* thus harraſſed the Land, and did almoſt whatever they pleaſed; ſelling the *Engliſh Men* Peace for their Money, and then breaking it again at their Pleaſure, to get a greater Sum. This gave the firſt Occaſion to the Impoſition of that Tax upon the Land, called *Danegelt*. And the Pride, and Lordly Imperiouſneſs of the inſulting *Danes*, gave Original to the opprobrious Name of *Lurdane*, as now it is eſteem'd; though then it was *Lord Dane*; a Term the *Engliſh* were for fear compell'd to give thoſe proud lazy *Danes*, that Rul'd and Domineer'd in many of their Houſes, at the right Owner's coſt.

Neither is it much to be wondred at, that this Land was brought into ſo great Miſery by theſe Hectoring

Hectoring Strangers, when as we find Diſſention amongſt the Lords; and ſuch treacherous Dealing, that whatſoever was devis'd by *Some*, for the Hurt of their common Enemies, it was quickly by *Others* of the ſame Councel betray'd, and made known to them. The King giving himſelf to a vicious and incontinent Life, and, to get Money any manner of way, ſticked not to diſinherit Men of their Poſſeſſions for ſmall, or feigned Cauſes, (according to the Hiſtory) and after cauſe them to redeem their own, for great Sums of Money.

In *London* 'twas, that I find this unfortunate *Egelred* more than once reſiding, for his own Security (it ſeems) more than for any Aid he attempted to get of the *Londoners*, to defend his Land. Here he fell ſick, died, and was alſo Buried; and with him, ſome of the *Engliſh Men*'s Shame and Diſhonour.

For *Edmund Ironſide*, his Son, favoured by the *Londoners*, and ſome other Lords, was Crown'd in that City; and thence departing with his Strength, ſo hotly purſued *Canutus*, the *Daniſh* King, that he was ſeveral Times put to the worſt, and in fair likelihood to have been utterly over-thrown, had not the falſe *Edric* (who having got an Habit of Treachery in *Egelreds* Days, could not ſo eaſily forſake his Old baſe Conditions) oft diſappointed King *Edmund*, by his Treacherous Dealing. By this *Edric*'s Treachery, I have read, That *Edmund* loſt his Life afterwards; for which Fact, the falſe Traytor expecting a great Reward at the hands of *Canutus*, had his Head exalted (according to the others Promiſe) above all the Lords of *England*, it being ſtricken off, pitch'd upon a Spear, and after ſet upon the higheſt Gate of *London*.

But about the King's Death and *Edric*'s, Au-

thors are found much to vary. Neither is it any marvel, that Writers differ ſo often, and ſo much in their Relations of Things done ſo many Ages ſince; Whenas, in things but as it were of yeſterday, we may obſerve ſo much difference in the different Relaters, eſpecially if it concerns divers Parties; Authors too too often Writing partially, in Favour of their own Side.

That *London* was, in thoſe Days, of very conſiderable Strength, we have much reaſon to believe; ſince that by Help thereof chiefly, *Edmund* was able to bear up ſo valiantly againſt the Fortunate *Canutus*; whom moſt of the Lords, eſpecially of the Spiritualty, favoured. 'Tis certain enough in the Story, that *Canutus* was not ignorant of the great Influence the City had then upon the Nation's Affairs; and therefore was as deſirous to get it into his Power, as *Edmund* was ſure he had it at his Devotion. For *Canutus* ſoon drew with his People to *London*, and would have entered; but was hindered by the Citizens. Then he would have forc'd his Enemies; but he was quickly compell'd to withdraw, and go elſe where: Such valiant Reſiſtance did the Citizens make againſt his Aſſaults. Another time he was drawing apace thitherward, but King *Edmund* was as diligent in preventing him; and after a cruel Fight, forc'd him to be gone. So eagerly did theſe two hardy Competitors ſtrive for the Poſſeſſion of this Renowned City in Particular, as well as for the whole Kingdom in General. The Poſſeſſion and Favour of the *One*, is a good Step to the ſafe keeping of the *Other*. This alſo, I preſume, was *Canutus*'s Opinion. For Hiſtory acquaints us with a Councel kept at *London*, by the ſame *Canutus*, after *Edmund Ironſide*'s Death. The Deſign whereof (if we may Judge by the Event)

vent) was to exclude the others Sons from all Claim and Pretenſions to that Part and Share of the Kingdom, that their Father once enjoyed quietly by mutual Conſent and Agreement. The very place might contribute ſomewhat to *Canutus*'s Deſign, though the Inhabitants ſhould not be brought to give their Aſſent in open and expreſs Words. 'Twas done at *London*; a pat Anſwer to ſuch as durſt ſeem to diſlike the Kings Proceedings. What? Dare you queſtion, what was done in the Capital City of the Realm? A pretty Fellow indeed, to murmur at thoſe Actions, which the Citizens of the Head City, the Metropolis of the Nation, did not openly diſlike, nor diſavow.

It is obſervable, in the Time of this *Canutus*, that in the Conteſt between Him, and the *Engliſh* King *Edmund*, the Spiritual Lords eſpecially were his Favourers, and ſided with him. A remarkable Inſtance of Temporizers among the Chief of the Clergy; and that they do not always ſtick to that Rule of Birth-right, which they ſo much applaud, when they think it may turn to their Secular Advantage; but like other poor, ſimple, ignorant Souls among the Laicks, can be content ſometimes to ſquint aſide upon the more prevalent Object of proſperous Might and Power; and leave *that*, which they are pleas'd to call *Right*, as forſaken and forlorn for the ſake of their Temporal Concerns.

Here was, on the *One* ſide, *Edmund Ironſide*, the Eldeſt Son (as far as I can perceive by the Story) of *Egelred* putting in for the Crown, as his Birth-right and lawful Inheritance; but under the Prejudice of a weak Fathers unproſperous Reign, and his own Strength ſmall in appearance, and of little Ability, in Humane likelihood, to defend ſuch as

would adhere to him. On the *Other* ſide, ſtands a Strong and Fortunate Competitor; his Arms in his Hands; a numerous Attendance of Victorious Soldiers waiting on him; moſt part of the Country under his Subjection, and proſperous Succeſs attending much upon his Banners; though a Stranger; an Enemy by Inheritance; a *Dane*; one that could pretend no other Title to the Crown, that we hear off, but what his Predeceſſors did owe to the Sword, and he could make good by the ſame Claim. Yet to this more powerful Pretender, with a long Sword in his hand, do theſe Time-ſerving-Prieſts chuſe to joyn themſelves, againſt an Old Friend by Birth; a Native; an *Engliſh Man*; with a better Title (according to their own Doctrine at ſome Times) but ſhorter Sword, as was then thought before ſufficient Tryal had been made. But now I think on't, they have like Paſſions and Infirmities with other Men, and do mind Secular Intereſts of their *Own*, as well as *Others*; at the ſame time that they endeavour to bring the Vulgar into a belief of a Commiſſion (they ſay) they have receiv'd from an Higher Power; and ſo pretend to greater Sanctity. True, it is ſaid, They had before time ſworn Fealty to *Canutus*'s Father. A fine delicate way, to defeat another's Right. Either they had before ſworn Allegiance to *Egelred*, *Edmund*'s Father, or they had not. If they had, what became of their Loyalty here, to forſwear That, and ſwear anew to a Stranger; an Enemy-King; and after perſiſt in the latter Oath, in prejudice of the Former; perſevering in giving away, what was none of their own to beſtow; they having already, by their firſt Oath, ſworn away themſelves to another? If they had not, how came they ſo readily to ſwear Fealty to their Native-King's profeſſed

feſſed Enemy? Did they well herein, or ill? If well, what then becomes of that darling Doctrine of *Primo-geniture*, and of Mens Right of Inheriting by the Law of Nature, not to be cut off, forſooth, (under even the freeſt Conſtitution of Government) by any Humane Law whatſoever, though never ſo many urgent Inconveniencies be clearly foreſeen, threatning the utter overthrow of the Nations Fundamental Rights? If ill, what made them continue therein, when they had ſo ſeaſonable an Opportunity of retrieving themſelves, by acknowledging, bewailing and forſaking their former Error? But it may be, they knew not how to eſcape the Imputation of Perjury. Nay rather, did they not lack Will, more than Power, to return to their *Engliſh Sovereign*, from that more Fortunate Outlandiſh Prince, to whom theſe wiley *Prieſts* had addicted and devoted themſelves? Had they Will, they knew not (it may be) how to diſentangle themſelves out of the Snare of thoſe Bonds, wherewith they had once bound themſelves, and wanted the Face openly to break them, without ſome Fig-leaf Cover or other, to hide themſelves under the Shadow thereof. They had not (it may be) hear'd of, or not well obſerved the plauſible fine-ſpun Pretences, that had been uſed before in the World; neither had they cunning enough, to find out thoſe more Politick Shifts, the Wit of after-Ages have either ſince invented, or much improv'd. Be they either the *Popes* Infallible Power (as ſome call it) of abſolving Subjects from their Allegiance, or the nice diſtinguiſhing between the Matter and Form of an Oath: The Default of ſome pretended neceſſary Circumſtances, in making, or the Train of ill Conſequences ſuggeſted upon the keeping the Oath, or Impoſſibility of its

Obſervation after taking it, ſlily inſinuated: The picking a ſtarting Hole out of ſome general Term, or dubious Interpretation of a Word: Or the yet neater way of bribing a great Company; a conſiderable Number; many Thouſands of Men, out of a Common Stock, with good Places, and Honourable Preferments, by publick Subſcriptions to declare the Oath, (for ſome few, ſmall, minute, petty, fancied Inconveniences) invalid, and of no binding force.

But be it by the Power of the Sword, or by whatſoever Claim elſe *Canutus* held the Crown, we nevertheleſs find him to have Govern'd the Land honourably after that he came to be ſole King; and, it may be, to the Content of many of his Subjects: for 'twas the Memory, doubtleſs, of his Repute, that ſet and kept the *Crown* upon the Heads of both his Sons; otherwiſe of themſelves of little Worth or Value, if compar'd with their Father.

One remarkable worthy Act of *Canutus*'s is recorded amongſt others, *viz.* That in the Nineth Year of his Reign he call'd a *Parliament* (ſo my Author terms it) at *Oxford*; where, amongſt other things, it was enacted, That *Engliſhmen* and *Danes* ſhould hold the Laws of *Edgar*, lately King.

In the Tranſactions of theſe Times, we may believe the City of *London* had no ſmall Share, as being probably (at length) pretty well pleas'd with the Father's Reign; whereupon the *Citizens* may be ſuppoſed to conduce (at leaſt, in ſome meaſure) to the ſettling his Sons on his Throne: For *Harold Harefoot* is ſaid by ſome to have dyed at *London*, after a Three Years Reign; and the other of *Canutus*'s Sons, *Hardicanute*, was joyfully Receiv'd, and Crown'd at the ſame City.

In

In *Edward the Confeſſor's* days, the Land being not much troubled with inteſtine Broils, there happ'ned but little Occaſion for trying *London's* Strength: And thereupon, I find no great mention of that Honourable City, unleſs in a Paſſage or two; as about *Edward the Outlaw's* dying therein; and of the King's being there ſome time before, with his Councill, when *Earl Goodwin* was charg'd to come to Court, and render into the King's Hands all his *Knights-Fees*, that he, and *Harold* his Son, held in *England*. The Effect whereof, was the Outlawing of the foremention'd *Goodwin*, for his Diſobedience, and departure out of the Land with his Sons, by Authority of a *Parliament*, call'd alittle after.

In this King's Reign alſo, we hear at both Ears of the evil Manners among the Biſhops, the Chief of the Clergy, of their Voluptuouſneſs, Gluttony, Leachery, Covetuouſneſs, Wordly Pomp, *&c.* as alſo of their Endeavours to excuſe their Manners, by anſwering, that they were ſuitable to the Times: A generall Corruption among Men of a Religious Habit being the Common Forerunners of great Turns and Changes in a Land, as it fell out here ſoon after this King's Deceaſe.

This is the King, to whom (according to the Annaliſt *Stow*) we are indebted for the Common Law, gather'd out of the Laws and Ordinances of the *Mercian's*, *Weſt Saxons*, *Danes* and *Northumbers*.

What Spirit was in the Men of thoſe Times, is in part manifeſted in the Meſſage ſent to *Harold* by the Inhabitants of *Northumberland*, when he was ſent thither by the King to do Correction upon thoſe, who had riſen againſt his Brother *Toſtus* their Duke, for a cruell Act by him committed, taking away what he had, and chaſing him out of the Country. Continuing together in a conſidera-

ble Body, they gave him to understand, that they were freely born, and freely nourish'd; and might suffer no cruelness of Dukes: That they had learned of their Elders and Sovereigns, to maintain Freedom, or to suffer Death; and to live in quietness under an easy Duke. Upon which Message, their Pardon was procur'd them of the King, and another Duke assign'd.

Within less then a year after *Edward the Confessor's* Death, we read of the landing of Duke *William*, with his *Normans*, at *Hastings* in *Sussex*; who came with a strong Army, to demand the Crown of *Harold*, who had no Title, (but what he claim'd by the Power of his Sword) and the Dukes Claim also went but upon a limping Foot. As great as the Duke's Host was, enough it seems by the Event, to help to win a Crown, we find *London* so Strong, as to hold him out (when he and his Army came thereto) till he had given good Assurance, that he and his People would pass through the City without tarrying; which was also observed accordingly.

When *Harold* was utterly over-thrown by these *Normans*, and so room made for the Title of *Edgar Atheling* to take place, we find the *Londoners* among the chief of those, who were upon Associating themselves each to other, to defend his Right to the utmost of their Powers. This Agreement indeed was afterwards broken; but by the making of it, we are well enough assured, that the Citys Strength was then esteem'd very considerable.

Another Argument let me produce out of *Stow's Annalls*; where it is recorded, that *Edwin* and *Marcar*, both then Powerfull Earles, the One of *Mercia*, the other of *Northumberland*, after *Harold's* Death came to *London*, and solicited the Citizens

to

to erect one of them to the Kingdom. Though this their enterprise was frustrated, yet doubtless it may prove *Londons* Power; otherwise 'tis hard to believe, these two potent Earls would have applied themselves to the Citizens, that they would chuse one of them for King, and upon the Failure of their Design would have quietly departed, without shewing some resentment, had not the City been too strong, easily to be dealt with, or slightly to be anger'd, with Safety and Security. The other more rightful Heir was the Person pitch'd upon. But the other Nobles of the Realm not powerfully assisting, and *Edward Atheling* not being (it seems) of Ability sufficient to manage his own Concerns himself, and undertake so great a Charge, 'tis no wonder that this Renowned City (suffering it self to be born down the Stream with the Times) submitted it Self (with the rest of the Land) to *Duke William*, who made some pretence to a Title; Whereas *Harold* could shew nothing for his, but his Sword; And therefore it may be 'tis, that we read not in antient Histories, (that I remember) of this Citys assisting him, to defend himself against *Duke William*'s Power.

Here now is a great Change indeed. The Power and Strength of the Kingdom turned from both the *Britains* and *Saxons*, and devolved upon the *Normans* by means of this *King William*; the Date of whose Reign begins, reckoning immediately after *Harold's* Death, *October* the Fourteenth, *Anno Christi* 1066, according to Chronology.

In this *King* (who himself, by the General consent of Writers, was basely Born) is founded the Succession; for higher they care not much to go, who keep such a stir about our Princes inheriting according to their Birth-right. Though, if this be made

made the fixt unalterable Rule, of Twenty Six Kings and Queens reigning Succeſſively, upon recourſe to the Hiſtory of their Reigns, we ſhall meet with a dozen (at leaſt) of them, who cannot be denied, but to have come to their Crowns with Flaws in their Titles. Nay, if we reckon in the Number, ſuch as may have been controverted upon that Account, we may ſafely add the other *Half dozen*. That from the general Rules there are many exceptions, we learnt almoſt as ſoon as we went to our *Grammar-School*. This King *William* is commonly called the *Conquerour* in Hiſtory; which acquaints us, That he came in with an Army, and conquered *Harold*; who is eſteemed little leſs than an *Uſurper*. But that from thence we ſhould conclude him a *Conquerour* of the whole Land, and look on it as a Nation totally ſubjected by Force of Arms, it ſeems to me to lack a little better Proof, than I have yet met with.

That King *William*, after he was well fixt in the Government, might reckon this Conqueſt amongſt his other Titles and Claims, (whether by *Harold's* Oath, the *Pope's* Gift, the *King's* Teſtament, and a little of Kindred) I ſhall not deny. For I have read, that King *Henry the Seventh* had a mind to put in for this Title alſo; but 'twas after he had well and ſurely gained the main point, *Poſſeſſion*. But upon peruſal of the Hiſtories about thoſe Times, it appears a little unlikely, that this Duke *William* ſhould get the Land into his own Power ſo wholly by Conqueſt, as ſome would inſinuate, for ſecret intents poſſibly, and purpoſes of their own.

Though *Harold* was Conquered by that one Battail, yet I do not think, the Land was: For beſides *Londons* Strength (where *William* was forced to yield Conditions, before he could paſs through, as before)

afore) the Earls of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, then of conſiderable Power, are ſaid to have withdrawn themſelves and their People to that City, without ſo much as being preſent at the Battel. How alſo the *Kentiſhmen* encloſed Duke *William*, and his Victorious Army, and compelled him to grant them the continuance of their Old Laws and Cuſtoms, is ſufficiently manifeſted, if only by the ſingle Evidence of their Antient Law of *Gavelkind*, yet continued amongſt them.

If this be Conqueſt, to be forced to yield Conditions; What is it to be Conquered? Wherefore, we may better (I believe) from theſe premiſed Conſiderations conclude, That the Chief of the Nation, knowing him to be a Man of Strength and Ability, and of great Fame, choſe rather to ſubmit to him upon fitting (reaſonable) Conditions, than hazard the running into the Miſeries of War, by committing themſelves to the Guidance of ſo young and weak an Head, as *Edgar Atheling*.

That King *William* made a League with ſuch as ſubmitted, and ſwore Fealty to him, ſtands recorded in *Stow*'s Annals. True indeed, after he was well fixt in the Throne, he might not much mind his former promiſes; but contrary to them, might do many irregular Acts to ſtrengthen himſelf, as he thought, and ſettle the Crown the ſurer upon his own Head. Whereof we find mentioned in Story, his endeavour to raiſe his *Normans*, by introducing them into the chief Places in Church and State; and impoveriſh the *Engliſh*, by ſetting grievous Impoſitions and Taxes on them. One we read of very conſiderable, in the Nineteenth Year of his Reign, when he made to be gathered Six Shillings of every Hide of Land, which would riſe high, according to my Authors reckoning; who ſays, an

Hide

Hide contains Five Yards; a Yard Four Acres; an Acre Forty Perch in length; Four in bredth; Eight of theſe Hides make a *Knights-Fee* or *Ploughtill*. Forty Eight *ſhillings* upon Eightſcore Acres, was a great matter in thoſe Days; though it ſounds but a ſmall Sum with Us, who have lived to hear of the Wealth of a New World, brought into the Old One.

To this may be added, his Craft in inrolling his *Barons* Land, their *Knights-Fees*, Towns, Number of Men and Cattle within the Realm, in *Doomsday-Book*; the better doubtleſs to know the Strength of the Land, and be the more able to raiſe what Taxes he pleaſed, without being very eaſily deceived by concealments.

More inſtances of *Arbitrary Power* might poſſibly be obſerved, which nevertheleſs are not deſervedly eſteemed Tokens and Markes of Conqueſt. That great Perſons, in the height of their Grandeur, often forget former Covenants and Promiſes, is no ſuch wonder; it is ſo common, ſo uſual, for ſome Men to promiſe more in half an hour, when they conceive it for their preſent Advantage, than others find performed in Seven Years. If Arbitrary Acts of Rule are able to prove King *William* a Conquerour of this whole Land, I do not know but many others may alſo be eſteemed Conquerours, who paſſed for good Ruling Kings in the days of their Power.

Though King *William* held the *Engliſhmen* ſo low, that in his days there was almoſt no *Engliſhman* that bare an Office of Honour or Rule (if *Fabian* may be credited; for ſome others deny it, as to ſome particulars:) This being certainly the too too common Effect of letting in a Forreign Power into a Land, where thoſe that were the Introducers of the Forreigners as Friends, have hardly

eſcaped

eſcaped *Polyphemus*'s Courteſy, of being devoured laſt; Witneſs in this Land, the introducing the *Saxons* by the *Britains* and the *Normans* upon them: Yet the ſame *Hiſtorian* intimates, that he ſomewhat favoured the City of *London*, and granted to the Citizens the Firſt Charter that ever they had, written in the *Saxon* Tongue, and ſealed with Green Wax, being expreſſed in Eight or Nine Lives.

This may be conſtrued to be done, either in gratitude to the City, for giving place ſo eaſily to his Fortune, or becauſe he found the Citizens ſo pliable to his Will, or rather in policy to have ſo conſiderable a Place the more at his Devotion, and fix it the ſtronger to his Intereſt: So ſubtle a *King* as he was, being in no wiſe ignorant (I preſume) of the great Impreſſion, the Actions of the chief City in a Conntry uſually makes upon the whole Nation. So that though *London* changed Maſters, it changed not Fortune; but (notwithſtanding it received damage by Fire, which burnt a great part thereof, and alſo of St. *Pauls*) rather gained more Honour and eſteem under the *Normans* Rule, by becoming the *Metropolis* of the whole Nation, and the Theatre, wherein hath been acted ſome of the moſt conſiderable Paſſages, that have ſince happened in this Land, whether in Peace or War. Moſt of our *Parliaments*, many of the *Biſhop's Synods* and *Convocations*, the *Kings* uſual *Reſidence*, his *Court*, his *Council*, and Places of *Judicature*, having been generally kept either in the Liberties of this *City*, or not far diſtant from it, at *Weſtminſter*; which being of a much later Date, (as is hinted before) is nevertheleſs known to be a diſtinct *City*, of different Rites and Cuſtoms, and under another Government; though the Buildings joyning both

Cities

Cities in a manner together, may occaſion Forreigners to give the Common Appellation *London* to the Whole; and we Natives alſo, many times, uſe the ſame General Term in private Diſcourſe.

In St. *Pauls* in *London*, was kept that Synod of the Clergy, in *William* the *Firſt's* days; which ordain'd many Biſhop's Sees to be tranſlated from ſmall Villages, and ſuch obſcure petty Places, to the greater Cities. For by this time, the Policy of the *Popes of Rome*, in diverſe parts of *Europe*, had introduc'd a diſtinct Government in the Church, different from that of the State: And ſo founded (as it were) one Empire within another, to have the whole the better at their Devotion. So that, if Kings or Rulers of States were not as ſubmiſſive to their Imperious Commands, as they deſir'd, they had the Church in the Land to overaw thoſe, who bore the Temporall Sword; and leſt the chief Church-men (being often preferr'd by the Magiſtrates means, through the *Popes* great Condeſcention, as they would have it thought) ſhould prove a little Refractory, they had the *Monaſteries*, *Abbies*, *Priories*, *Nunneries*, and ſuch like, in a manner, under the *Popes* peculiar Juriſdiction, to curb them, by the Power they could raiſe out of their Tennants, Friends and Kindred. *Romes* high and lofty Prelates, thus ſtriving to have their Spoons in every Ones Diſh: which Deſire of theirs, we do not find at all diminiſhed, though now their Wings be much clipt. Nay, we find them the more eager now, in their purſuit after their antient Greatneſs, under the pretence of a former Right, which was firſt obtain'd by none of the beſt and honeſteſt ways. And ſo they might regain it, Experience tells us, they would not ſtick at the per-

perpetration of the moſt Execrable Villanies, the Art of Man can invent, or the Hand can act. Whence elſe come all thoſe Wars, Maſſacres, Perſecutions, *Plots*, Conſpiracies, Deſignes, Intreagues, Frauds, Deceits, raiſing of Publick Jealouſies, fomenting of Private Feares, exaſperating of Mens minds, heightning their Animoſities, debauching their Moralls, and Corrupting Religion it ſelf, with the reſt of thoſe Curſed Arts and *Seed-Plots* of Sedition, where with our Ears have been ſo long filled, that the ſound is not yet gone out of them; nor know we when ever it will, as long as they can meet with ſo many fooliſh Bigots, and prophane Debauchees among the Sons of Men: The One to be gull'd with the Hopes of Heaven, for the Performance of ſuch Meritorious Acts, as they will put them upon; the Other to be purchaſed with a Bag of Money, or a Plump Whore, to favour their Deſignes, falicitate their Purpoſes, carry on their Projects, and protect their Crimes, if detected, from Publick Juſtice.

As *London* was favoured by the firſt *William*, ſo I find no great reaſon otherwiſe to believe, but that it continued in favour and fame under the Second *William*'s Reign. Yet I meet with but few Paſſages of it, excepting what may ſeem to tend to its diſadvantage, (as the Harm it ſuſtained from a Violent wind, that is ſaid to have overthrown at one time above 600 houſes, and much injured the roof of St. *Mary Bow* in *Cheapſide*, as alſo the hurt was done another time about it by the Inundation of *Thames*) unleſs we ſhould think it received ſome addition of honour, from the great charges *William Rufus* was at about the *Tower*, which was to adorn it, I ſuppoſe; for that it was builded long before, hath been related above; & that it was of good ſtrength

in

in the preceding Kings dayes, is enough evident, in that we read it was made *Marcharus*, the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Priſon. This *Tower* having been before times, and very often in later days, the place of confinement for great Men, when eſteemed Offendors. This is the *King* that built *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and being after diſpleaſed at it for being not big enough to his mind, intended (as 'tis ſaid) to have built one much larger, and make the other to have ſerved for a Chamber. The wicked Lives of the inſulting *Normans*; the Miſeries and Vices of the depreſſed *Engliſhmen*, with the depraved Manners of the corrupted Clergy, were ſo notorious in this Kings dayes, that Writers could not well paſs them over without mention.

In *Henry* the 2d's Time, we read of the founding of St. *Bartholomew*'s-*Church*, *Priory* and *Hoſpital* in *Smithfield*, which was begun ('tis ſaid) by *Rayer*, one of this Kings Minſtrells, but ended by ſome good and well diſpoſed Citizens of *London*: This *Smithfield* was then a Place for the caſting out of filth, where alſo Felons and other Tranſgreſſours were executed; and not put it ſeems to the uſe that now it is. Length of time commonly changes the uſe of Places, and ſometimes for the better.

There are upon Record no leſs than Three *Councills*, *Synods* or *Convocations* of the *Clergy*, which were kept in this City in this Kings Reign, to reform the Church and Church-men, was the uſuall Pretence; but it was commonly done in ſuch away, that it tended moſtly to the exalting of their own Power.

We read in *Stow* of a *Parliament* of *Prelates*, *Nobles* and *Commons*, Aſſembled by this *King* in the Sixteenth Year of his Reign, *Anno Chriſti* 1116. This *King* was the better beloved of the *Engliſhmen*,

men, for Marrying a Wife of the Old *Saxon* Line, *Edgar Atheling's* Sisters Daughter, for using *Edward* the *Confessors* Laws with Amendment, at his coming to the Crown, and making some good ones of his own, for freeing the Church, Imprisoning *Rannulph*, the covetous Bishop of *Durham* (his Brother *William's* Procurator, and Gatherer of his Taxes) in the *Tower* of *London*; and also releasing to *Englishmen* the Old Tax of *Danegelt*, lately revived by his Father and Brother, and restoring to them the Use of Lights by Night; which, with Fire, had been by his Father forbidden to be used after the Ringing of the *Curfew-Bell*, at Eight of the Clock.

In the time of King *Stephen*, we meet with an eminent Instance of *London's* Strength. *Maud*, the Empress, the Late Kings only Surviving Heir, having upon the Fortune of a Battail took and Imprisoned King *Stephen*, and being thereby much exalted in her mind, deeming her self sure of the Possession of the whole Realm, would not make any Grant to the Citizen's Requests: They thereupon becoming discontented, designed to have seized on her Person. Whereof she having warning, fled in haste for her own Safe-guard to *Oxford*, and her People were divided and scattered; whereas, not long before, she was in a fair possibility of enjoying all that she claimed; King *Stephen's* Queen promising upon his Delivery, that he should surrender the Land into her Possession, and become a Religious Man, or a Pilgrim, to his Lives end: Either of which, at that time, was a kind of Spiritual Death, as to what concerned Worldly Affairs. But her unfortunate disobliging this City soon turned the Scales. The *Queen's* Strength encreases, *Maud's* diminishes; The King a

little after is delivered upon Exchange, and the Empreſs (at laſt) departs with a ſmall Company, and returns into *Normandy*, without obtaining her Deſire. So conſiderable then was the City of *London*, as to be able to wreſt the Power out of this Conquereſſes Hands, and return it back (at length) to the ſame Perſon, whom ſhe had once overcome, and held many Months Priſoner at her own Will and Pleaſure.

That for which the *Citizens* of *London* made ſo great Labour, was, that they might uſe the Laws of *Edward the Confeſſor*, as they were granted by *William*, commonly called the *Conquerour*; and not the Laws of her Father, which were of more ſtraitneſs. Here, in my Opinion, ſeems to be intimated, that this King *William* came not into the quiet Poſſeſſion of the Realm ſo much by Conqueſt, as on Conditions; accordingly here's mention made of one Grant.

The Occaſion of *Stephen's* coming to the Crown, contrary to his own former Oath ſwore to King *Henry*, and in prejudice to *Maud's* Claim, is Recorded by one Author, to have been the Oath of one *Hugh Bigot*, ſometime King *Henry's* Steward; who ſwore, that the Late King, (in his preſence) a little before his Death, choſe this *Stephen* for his Heir, by reaſon that he had received ſome diſcontent at his Daughters hands. Whereunto the *Lords* giving eaſy Credence, admitted him *King*. The Favour of the *Londoners* did doubtleſs, at that time, conduce not a little to his advantage, in preferring him an able Man, before a weak Woman; For *Stow's* Annals inform us, That he was received by the *Londoners*, when he had been repulſed at other Places; certainly it redounded to his ſingular Benefit afterwards, as hath been related before.

An

Another Addition of Strength might be, his not impoſing heavy Taxes upon the People; which, it may be, increaſed their Love to him, and made ſo many ſide with him: As indeed we find upon his firſt Admiſſion, that he ſware among other things, before the Lords at *Oxford*, to forgive his People the Tax of *Danegelt*. Neither do I read of any Taxes, that he raiſed upon the *Commons*: It is affirmed poſitively, in the *Collection of Wonders, and Remarkable Paſſages*, that he raiſed none; with which *Stow* likewiſe agrees. So that, a *King's* needleſs laying of many heavy and grievous Taxes upon his People, occaſions him to loſe much of their Love; and his forbearing it, when he hath Power in his hands, unites his Subjects Hearts the faſter to him. But inſtead of Taxes, we read of this *Kings* permiſſion, given to his *Lords*, to build Caſtles or Fortreſſes upon their own Grounds: Many whereof we find pulled down in the next King's time, they having been the occaſion of many Miſeries in the Land, and the ready means to foment Civil Wars therein; which generally brings greater Damages to the *Commonalty*, than a few Impoſitions and Taxes can be preſumed to do.

This King *Stephen* was twice Crowned; but for what cauſe, or for what intent, is not ſo eaſily known; whether it was, that he thought his Impriſonment had diminiſhed ſomewhat of his Royalty, or elſe thinking by a ſecond Coronation to elude the Force of the Oath made at the firſt, I find not delivered. Certain it is, ſoon after my Author tells of his taking away a Caſtle from the Earl of *Cheſter*, who before had appeared againſt him on *Maud's* ſide, with a very conſiderable Strength; but had been afterwards reconciled to the *King*. But what is much more conſiderable, we read not

long after of the *King's* new danger, and ill Succeſs, and of his Party being weaken'd particularly by the loſs of *London*. For Duke *Henry* (after King) coming into *England* with a great Army, after ſome ſmall Succeſs, gets up to *London*, and wins the *Tower*, as much by Policy, and fair Promiſes, (ſaith my Author) as by Strength. Then he had Opportunity enough to careſs the *Citizens*, being ſo near them; and it may be, he got not the *Tower* without their Conſent, if not by their Aſſiſtance. Hereby we find, that he retrieved what his Mother's Haughtineſs before had loſt; and ſo having got the City's Affection and Power, he was in a fair way to obtain his Deſires, as he did not long after. For we quickly read of *Mediators* and *Treaties* of Peace between theſe two *Competitors*; which took Effect at laſt, though the Intereſt and Policy of ſome hindered it for a time. In Concluſion, the *King* was fain to conſent to the adopting the *Duke* his Heir, ſo that he might Reign during his Life. Which juſtly to perform, the *King* being ſworn, with his Lords Spiritual and Temporal; in the next place, we hear of their riding up to *London*; as if to bind the bargain, it was requiſite to ask the conſent of that Honourable *City*, whoſe Favour ſeems to have been of ſo great weight in thoſe unſettled Times, as to turn the Scales twice; once in the *King's* behalf, and erewhile on the *Duke's*. Such was their Influence, ſuch their Power, as to pull down and ſet up, in a manner, whom the *Citizens* pleaſed.

Happy was this Agreement to the Land by ſettling peace therein; as beneficial likewiſe was it to the *Duke*, it being a fair Step to the Throne; whereon we find him mounted within a little time. For not long after this Accord, we hear of the

King's

King's Death: Whether the Troubles of his Mind, or Diſeaſes of his Body brought him to his End, vexation for the diſappointment of his Deſigns, in being (after a ſort) compelled to adopt his Competitor (his Enemy) for his Son and Heir, or Grief for the loſs of *London's* Favour, which helped to effect ſo great a Turn in his Affairs, I ſhall not determine. It might be one, it might be the other, or neither, or all conjoyned, that became the occaſional Cauſes (ſo to phraſe it) of his Death. I like not to be very poſitive, where I am not very certain.

Stephen's Death making thus way for *Henry* to aſcend the *Engliſh* Throne, he became one of the greateſt *Kings* that ever ruled this Land, for the Largeneſs and Extent of his Territories, if we reckon the Inheritance he enjoyed from his Father, the Land he held by the Title of his Mother, the Dowry he had with his Wife, and what he obtained by the Succeſs of his Arms: Yet, notwithſtanding all this, he lived not free from Troubles, and inteſtine Broils, which ſprung much out of his own Bowels: So that the Glory of his Youth began ſomewhat to be eclipſed by the Misfortunes of his elder Years. He Crowned his eldeſt Son living *King*, ſometime before the middle of his Reign; to the end (as one Author affirms) that he might have full Power and Authority to rule this Land and People, while his Father was buſied in other Countrys, where ſome of his Lands lay. This might be one Reaſon; but the *King* (having learnt by experience, to his Mother's Loſs, and his own Coſt, how eaſy it was for *Stephen* to attempt, and gain the Crown, being preſent on the Spot, while the right Heir was far diſtant in the vacancy of the Throne) may be ſuppoſed in his intent, to have

deſigned the hinderance of ſuch an Intruſion for the future, by Crowning the next Heir *King*, while he himſelf lived.

I read, that *Stephen* had ſome ſuch deſign to have Crowned his Son *King* in his own days, (as he declared at a *Parliament* called at *London*, *An. Reg.* 17) to have fixt the Crown the ſurer to his Poſterity. But the *Biſhops* refuſed the Deed: Which I do not find they did ſo much out of Conſcience, or in Favour to *Maud's* Title, as by the Command (forſooth) of the *Pope*; who, in thoſe days, was very apt to be clapping his Fingers into almoſt every ones Pye, where he thought any good picking might be had.

This King *Henry* got but little by Crowning his Son in his Life-time, beſides Troubles, Croſſes, and Vexation of Spirit. For upon one Occaſion or other, we find his Sons oft thwarting him, and ſome times warring upon him.

Famous were thoſe days, for the *Conteſt* between the *King*, and *Thomas Becket*; which brought *Becket* to his end, and the *King* to a ſevere Penance at the laſt; though he diſowned the Fact, and is not plainly proved to have given any other conſent to it, unleſs what may be deduced from a few angry Words uttered in his Paſſion. The ground and occaſion of this Diſſention between the *King*, and the *Arch-Biſhop*, is declared by the *Chronicle*, to have ſprung from diverſe *Acts* and *Ordinances*, which the *King* had procured, at his *Parliament* at *Northampton*, to paſs againſt the Liberties of the Church; which thereupon this lofty *Prelate* withſtood. The *Popiſh Clergy* being then grown to that height, that crowned Heads were in a manner compelled for their own Security to veil Bonnet to them; and ſcarce durſt ſo far preſume, as but to endeavour

endeavour to croſs their Ambitious Deſigns: They could be content by their *Canons*, and *Councels*, to encroach upon the *Laity*, as they termed them; but they, (poor Men) by the *Clergy's* good Will, muſt not be allowed to vindicate their *Own* Native Liberty from the *Others* unjuſt Uſurpations.

This King *Henry* is ſaid to have been Peerleſs in Chivalry, in War, and in Leachery. This laſt is ſufficiently notorious, in his Love to the Fair *Roſamond*, and further manifeſted in his deflowring (as we read) his Son *Richard's* intended Wife, the *French King's* Daughter; whom we are alſo told he would have Married, could he have obtained a Divorce from his *Queen*: And this he intended, 'tis ſaid, to have the more favour of the *Frenchmen*, by their Aid the better to diſinherit his Sons; who, among other things done to his Diſpleaſure, had warred upon him in Vindication of their abuſed and ſlighted *Mother*.

Three ſeveral Warnings I read of, that he had to amend his Life; but to little or no purpoſe. Some of his Patience (or elſe fear of the *Imperious Clergy*) we find in his forbearance, ſhewed to *Heraclius*, Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*; who, upon the *King's* Refuſal to go into the *Holy Land* being diſcontented, ſharply rebuked him, reflecting on him for the Death (or Martyrdom, as thoſe Times were pleaſed to term it) of *Thomas Becket*; and upon *Henry's* further excuſing the Voyage for fear of his Son's Rebellion in his Abſence, departed in great ire, with theſe words in his Mouth; ſaying, *That it was no wonder; for of the Devil they come, and to the Devil they ſhall.*----Part of his Devotion we meet with in that Shift, he found out to fulfil the Condition of building three *Abbies* in *England*, enjoyned him by the *Pope* in the Diſpenſation granted him,

for the Voyage he had before ſolemnly vowed to take into the *Holy Land* in Perſon. Such was much of the Religion then of thoſe Times, either to build *Abbies*, *Monaſteries*, and the like, (ſo many *Eccleſiaſtical Caſtles*, or *Fortreſſes*, as it were, ready manned and victualled at the *Pope's* Service) or elſe to take upon them the *Croſs*, and away to the *Holy War*, as faſt as they could, to fight for *Chriſt's Sepulcher*, as went the cry, *Anglice*, to ſubdue more Land to the *Pope's* Obedience. A cunning crafty trick of the *Pope's*, to ſend away packing ſuch Princes, whoſe Power they feared would grow too great at home, that they might in the mean time domineer over their Subjects Purſes and Conſciences, and the better advance their own Worldly Pomp and Grandeur in their Abſence. For I read not of any of the *Popes*, who went themſelves in Perſons: They, forſooth, could not be ſpared from their Charge, *alias*, their Preferment; nor be abſent from home, out of care to the Feeding of their Flock, *i. e.* looking to their own Gain. So that the ſending Men (while in their Bodies) to the *Holy Land*, was almoſt as beneficial a Project, as long as it laſted, as the Pretence of *Fetching* their Souls out of *Purgatory* after their Death, for a round Sum of Money, and a ſet of *Maſſes*.

The Trick King *Henry* (almoſt as Cunning, though not as Fortunate, as theſe ſubtle *Prieſts*) found out to fulfil the Condition enjoyned, and which he put in Execution, was, *Firſt*, Putting Secular Cannons out of *Waltham-Houſe*, and ſetting Cannons Regular in their ſtead. *Secondly*, His thruſting the *Monks* out of *Amesbury-Houſe*, and placing there another ſort of *Religious Perſons*, which he had brought from beyond the Sea. And for the *Third*, His courſly renewing the *Charter-*

Houſe

Houſe of *Watham*, beſide *Salisbury*.

The King having had ſo large Tryall, and ſo much Knowledge of the *City* of *London's* Power, did not very much (I ſuppoſe, at any time) diſoblige the *Citizens*; Eſpecially having ſuch powerfull Enemies to deal with as the King of *France* abroad, and at home the inſulting, incroaching *Clergy*, and his own unnaturall refractory Sons; though one ſaith, that he nouriſhed Striſe amongſt his Children with all Diligence, hoping thereby to live himſelf in the more reſt. But it ſeems, that device avail'd him but little.

As we have but little reaſon to think, that the *City* of *London* loſt ground in *Henry's* days; ſo under his Son and Succeſſour King *Richard*, we find that Foundation laid, where upon was after erected that Famous and Free Way of Electing it's own yearly Governours; wherein *ſhe* now glories. Like as *William the Firſt* gave the *Citizens* their Firſt Charter; ſo this Noble *Richard* [*Cuer de Lyon*] was the King, that ordain'd *London* to be ruld by *Two Bailiffs* whoſe Names were *Henry of Cornhil*, and *Richard Fitz Ryver*; as *Fabian* tells us in that worthy *Chronicle*, which he compiled of the *Engliſh* and *French* Nation. This *Fabian*, being Sheriff of this City in *Henry the Seventh's* Days, by that advantage may be preſumed to have beſt known the Affairs of the *City*; and ſeeming to write with a great deal of Integrity, in this Relation I chiefly follow him, and ſo intend as far as he reaches; eſpecially when I ſhall have occaſion to Name any of the *Bayliffs*, *Mayors*, or *Sheriffs*; through whoſe yearly Government, in his Second Volume, he deduces the Hiſtory in form of *Annals*, down to the beginning of King *Henry the Eight's* Reign. In the *Prologue* to this *Second* Part, he tells

us,

us, That the *City* was antiently under the Rule of *Portgrieves*; which word *Portgrieve* ſignifies in *Saxon*, the *Guardian*, *Ruler*, or *Keeper of a Town*. The Book called *Doomſday*, wherein were regiſtred in *Saxon* the Laws and Cuſtoms then uſed, being loſt; he acquaints us alſo, that the Remembrance of thoſe Rulers, before this *Richard's* Days, was loſt and forgotten. In the ſame *Prologue* likewiſe he hath left us a Copy of Verſes, written in praiſe of the City; wherein we are told, That this *City* was never caſt down, as other Famous Ones have been; that herein Divine Service was always continued in Religious Houſes, in ſuch an Order, that when one had done, another began; and that it was famed alſo for the Mayor and Sheriffs Noble Houſe-keeping; with much more; which any one that pleaſe may peruſe at his leaſure, in the forecited Place.

We likewiſe find there declared the ſeveral Wards of the *City*, as they ſtood in *Fabian's* Time; together with the Pariſh-Churches, and other Religious Houſes, within and without, ſummed up to the Number of One Hundred Sixty Eight:

This King *Richard* (in the Beginning of whoſe Reign we firſt hear of the Name of *Bailiffs* given to the *Rulers of London*) having taken a Voyage into the *Holy-Land*, according to the Religion of thoſe Times, and done his Devoir for the Recovery of it, according to his Strength; the *Clergymen* had reaſon to eſteem well of him; to humour whoſe deſigns he had undertaken ſo chargeable an Enterprize: So accordingly we find, that the *Eccleſiaſticks* ſtuck as cloſe to him, as any of his Subjects in his Adverſity. For in his Return from the *Holy War* (as 'twas term'd) *Richard* being Shipwrack't, took and impriſon'd by the Duke of *Auſtria*,

ſtria, and long detain'd by the *Emperour*, he was compell'd to redeem himſelf, after a Year and three Month's Impriſonment, at a large Ranſom: An hundred thouſand Pounds were either preſently paid, or good Pledges left behind him to aſcertain the full and true Payment. A vaſt Sum in thoſe days, when *Wheat* was eſteem'd at a high Price, being ſold at fifteen Shillings the Quarter; as we find it in the fifth Year of King *John*'s Reign, about half a dozen Years after. So that, for this Ranſom, were ſold the Ornaments of the *Church*, *Prelate's* Rings and Croſſes, with the Veſſels and *Chalices* of the *Churches*, throughout the Land, Wool of *White Monks* and *Cannons*, and alſo twenty ſeven Shrines ſcrap't and ſpoil'd of the Gold and Silver laid on them in former Times: No Priviledge of *Church* then regarded, no Perſon ſpar'd. A coſtly Voyage indeed it prov'd to the Land, undertaken to ſatisfie the *Clergy-men*'s Ambition; and therefore they might well be content to bear much of the Charges, and uſe their utmoſt Endeavours in the Impriſon'd *King*'s Vindication. And ſo the *Pope* did, as far as Curſes would go; to which was imputed thoſe Miſchiefs, that befel the Duke of *Auſtria* and his Country a little after, as the Effects of the *Pope*'s Indignation.

The Power, and Eſteem of this *City*'s Favour, in thoſe Times of the *King*'s Captivity, we need but remark out of *Neubrigenſis*; who acquaints us, That when the *Chancellour*, being then *Biſhop* of *Ely*, and Governour of the Land, dreaded the Force of the oppoſite Lords, who ſtrove to ſuppreſs him for his Inſolency, and ill Government, he retir'd to *London*; and humbly intreated the *Citizens*, not to be wanting to him in that point of time: But they being not unmindful of his former Behaviour,

haviour, rather favour'd the other Party; whereupon the proud haughty *Prelate* was compell'd to reſign his Office, which he had ſo ill manag'd, and depart, to the no ſmall Benefit to the Land in thoſe troubleſome Times.

At *London* likewiſe was it, that the *Lords* conſulted together, for the ordering the Land in the *King*'s Abſence; which, after the late ill Governour had been diſcarded, and after an Oath of Fideli y to the abſent *Prince*, was put into another's Hands.

When King *Richard* was delivered; as ſoon as he landed at *Sandwich*, we find him coming ſtraightway to *London*, as the fitteſt Place (it ſeems) to receive him, and aſſiſt him. So accordingly we read of his Reception there, with all Joy and Honour, in ſo ſplendid a Pomp, that the *German* Nobles (preſent) beholding it, affirm'd, That if the *Emperour* had known of ſuch Riches in *England*, he would not have dimiſs'd the Ranſom'd *King* under an Intollerable Price.

A little after, we hear of his riding thence with a convenient Strength, to recover the Places that ſtood out againſt him.

After this, by a Councel of Lords call'd at *Wincheſter*, having deprived his Brother *John* of his Honours and Lands, for his Rebellion, he took care to have himſelf crown'd *King* of *England* anew. As if the Force of his former Coronation was impaired by his Impriſonment; or elſe he thought, by this politick Shift, to take off all Obligations, that might haply lie on him, for any thing done before. As indeed we quickly after read of a Reſumption of all Patents, Annuities, Fees, and other Grants made before his Voyage: But then it's affirmed to be done by the Authority of a *Parliament*, Ii'd after his Coronation.

After

After these Passages, two *State-Informers* are noted to have risen up, promising the *King* great Matters; the Scenes of whose chief Acts were either laid, or to have been laid at *London*. One of them, the *Abbot* of *Cadonence*, warning the *King* of the Fraud of his Officers, by vertue of a Warrant from him, called divers Officers before him at *London*, to yield to him their Accounts. This Place was made choice of by him, as the fittest (it seems) wherein to ingratiate himself with the common People by so plausible an Act, as bringing offending Officers to condigne Punishment. But Death soon cut him off, and so put an end to all his Designs. The other *Informer*, call'ed *William with the Long Beard*, reported to be born in *London*, of a sharp Wit; having shew'd the *King* of the Outrage of the Rich; who (as he said) in publick Payments, spar'd their own, and pilled the Poor; and being upheld by him, became the Patron and Defender of poor Men's Causes; and stirred up the common People to a desire and love of *Freedom* and *Liberty*, by blaming Rich Men's Excess and Insolence. Hereupon he was followed with such numbers of People, that being called before the *King*'s Councel upon suspicion of a Conspiracy, the Lords were fain with good words to dismiss him for the present, for fear of the Multitude attending him; and commanded certain to seize on him, in the Absence of his numerous Abettors. But those thus commanded, mistaking the time, and so failing in their intended Design, he escaped, and took Sanctuary in St. *Mary Bow* Church; where his Strength quickly grew so great by the Access of the Multitude, that he was not easily taken hold of, nor without shedding of Blood. However, being at last taken, after that the

the Heads and Rulers of the *City* had diminiſh'd the People, he, with other his Adherents, was arraign'd before the Judges, caſt, condemn'd, and hang'd very ſhortly after; even the following day, ſaith the *Chronicle*: ſo deſirous were the rich and great Men to have him out of the way, as ſoon as they could. But as his Plea of *Freedom* was ſo acceptable to the *Commons* in his Life-time, that he became a Terror to the Great; ſo, after his Death, he ceaſed not for a while to be a Dread to many; by reaſon of a Rumour raiſed and bandied about among the *Commons*, of his Innocency, and favourably received of the People, even to the approving of him as an holy Man and Martyr, and making Pilgrimages to the Place of his Execution; to the no ſmall trouble of thoſe that had a hand in his Death. At laſt, the Flame of this Devotion was ſomewhat cool'd, by the Publiſhing ſome Acts of his, with other deteſtable Crimes laid to his Charge; whether true or falſe, let them look to it, who induſtriouſly ſpread them abroad. Yet it was not quite put out, till the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, (upon whom, among others, a great Crime was rais'd for procuring his Death) had accurſed the *Prieſt*, this *William*'s Kinſman; who had openly divulged the Vertue the Chain (wherewith *William* was bound in the time of his Impriſonment) had upon a Man ſick of the Feaver.

This Inſtance ſufficiently proves, that the name of Liberty ſounds ſweet; and that ſuch as promiſe to procure it, ſhall have Admirers and Followers enough: But that alſo the Favour of the Multitude is deceitfull; and for a Man to put off his Hat to the People, many times is the occaſion of loſing his Head, is evidently manifeſted by this very ſame Example. How ſmall an Occaſion is it,

that

that ſometimes raiſes a Man's Fame? Yet you here find as petty ſmall Matters ſoon likewiſe depreſs it. That is no laſting Name, that depends meerly upon Vulgar Breath. To *Defend the Poor and Needy, and protect the Oppreſſed*, is a plauſible Plea. Yet it ſhall go hard, but the Rich Oppreſſor will find one way or other, to ruine that Man in his Goods, and good Name, if not as to his Life, who undertakes ſo noble a Defence.

As this King *Richard* (under whoſe Reign theſe two *Informers* roſe up) was Couragious and Valiant in his Life; ſo, a little before his Death, an Act of his Magnanimity and Chriſtian Forbearance was ſhewed by him, in his freely forgiving and remitting the Perſon, then in his Power, that occaſioned his Death; after that he heard from the other's Confeſſion, that in that Deed he intended to avenge the Death of his Father and Brethren, before ſlain by the *King*. But yet the Man ſcaped not with his Life, though forgiven by King *Richard*; if that be true, which is ſaid of the Duke of *Brabant*, that he after cauſed him to be taken, ſlead quick, and hanged.

After *Richard*'s Deceaſe, his Brother *John* (being then in *Normandy*) ſeizes upon his Treaſure; and, not long after, procures himſelf to be crown'd *King* at *Weſtminſter*, though in prejudice to the Title of an Elder Brother's Son: Whereto his Mother *Eleanor* is thought to have contributed not a little; being poſſibly deſirous rather to ſet the Crown upon h r Son's Head, under whom ſhe might hope to have a greater Share in the Government, than ſhe could reaſonably expect under her Grand child, then within Age, where her Daughter-in-law, the other's Mother, was likely to bear the greateſt ſway. So that the ambitious Deſire

of

of Rule is not incident only to Men; but invades even the Hearts of the Female Sex. Here the Mother's Ambition raiſes up her Younger Son, even to the Prejudice of her Eldeſt Son's Heir.

Though *Women* be born ſubject to *Men*, yet it is in a manner connatural to them, to deſire the Power of commanding them at their own will and pleaſure. Shew me the Land, where the *Scepter* hath not often bowed to the *Diſtaff*; and the *Princes Power*, together with his heart, been ſubject to a capricious *Womans Humour*. When they creep into Mens Hearts, and lye in their Boſoms, it is no wonder, that they dive into their *Secrets*, and ſway their *Councels*. So that the Affairs of the *State* often turn upon the Hinges of an *Imperious Woman's* Will. Under even the moſt Abſolute *Deſpotical Government* of the *Turks*, the *Ottoman* Power many times lies in a Womans Breaſt; and the *Sultana's* do not ſeldome over-rule the Conſults of the *Divan*. Of which, let the Ambitious *Roxolana*, ſometime Empreſs to *Solyman* the Magnificent, ſuffice for an Inſtance.

But what need we go ſo far, when as nearer home our own Ears, if not our Eyes, may ſerve for Witneſſes of this Truth? Yet, to the Glory of *England* be it ſpoken, this Land flouriſhed in ſuch Peace and Proſperity, even to a Miracle, under *Queen Elizabeth*; and the Tranquility of her Reign hath ſo Honourably Conſecrated her Memory in *Fame's Temple*, that few of our *Engliſh Monarchs* ever equal'd her; none (that I know) of all thoſe, who went off the Throne, ſurpaſſed her. The Happineſs indeed of her *Reign*, may poſſibly be imputed much to the Wiſdom of her *Conduct*, in ſuffering the Affairs of the Nation to be guided by the Councels of Men: Whereas, under ſome of our *Kings*,

Kings, our Governours have had ſuch a deal of Chamber-practice, that the State hath been much at the Guidance of Women, or elſe of ſuch Effeminate Perſons, as were quite degenerated from the Spirits, and Courage of their Anceſtors; as who, by their Immoralities, Luxury, and Debaucheries, had little left in them of *Heroick* and *Maſculine*, and were ſcarce fit for any thing elſe, but to be dub'd *Knights of the Carpet*.

But what ever was the Title and Means, we find *John* got into the Throne; and, by the aid he obtained of his *Lords* and *Commons*, before the End of the Year, to recover what was loſt in *Normandy*; we may conclude, it was not without their Conſents. From *Stow's* Relation, 'tis plain enough, that he was Elected at *London*, after that *Hubert*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, had made a Speech to that purport, in the Preſence of the *Biſhops*, *Earls*, *Barons* and Others. They, it may be, preferring him, a Man of Courage and Spirit, and ſo fitter to rule and govern the Realm, before the Title of young *Arthur*, then in his Non-age, though of the Elder Houſe.

For ſeldom 'tis, that unuſual Changes happen, without ſome previous Preparatives to make way for them. And if a Nation hath once fixt upon a Rule to guide the Succeſſion, they do not preſently vary from it, but upon urgent Occaſion. So find we in Kingdoms, meerly and properly Elective; they commonly chuſe the next Heir of the Blood, unleſs upon the Interpoſition of ſome notable Impediment.

In *Sweden*, that War-like Nation, amidſt the greateſt Succeſs of their Arms, ſubmitted themſelves to *Guſtavus Adolphus*'s Heir, though a Child, and of the Female Sex; and when ſhe grew up to

Womans Estate, they would willingly have continued her their *Queen*, would she but have Married according to their Desires.

When that great Change happened in *Denmark* of late Years, which turned it from an *Elective* to an *Hereditary Kingdom*, we may have heard, it was effected by the Policy of the present King, who made use of the Distractions of the Nation, then almost conquered by the *Sweeds*; and that Scantling of Fame he had got, by defending his *Capital City* against their furious Assaults, to encline the petty Remainder of his Subjects, to give way to such an universal Change in the Constitution of their *Government*. So that, whatever *Towns* or *Cities* were afterwards reduced, they must be content to yield to the new-made Law, as the established Decree of the Nation. A hard thing it might possibly appear to such, who had no hand in the making of that Ordinance, and (it may be) would not very readily have given their Consent thereunto: And yet it might have seemed as hard to them, to have remained under the *Sweeds*, where they had but little hopes of having much Share in the *Government*, or be lookt upon, and dealt with otherwise than as a *Conquer'd People*. The Fame, it may be, of this succeeding Policy of the *Danish King*, with the Excitation of some of the Boutifeus of *Europe*, may be supposed to have put some thoughts of the like Nature, into the *Polish King's* Head; if all be true that hath been reported, of the Sloth and Negligence laid to his Charge, by a Senator of the Land, of his Backwardness to call a *General Diet* of the Nation; and of the Purport of a Speech made to him once within these few Years, by an Ambassador from out of these Parts of *Europe*. Hence likewise may have procceded the Fears and

Jealousies

Jealouſies of the *Sweeds*, hinted to us in *Forreign News*, leſt their *King*, by his Neighbours Example, ſhould be encouraged to attempt the like: Which ſeems ſince to have been very much legitimated, by the Alteration lately made in the *Senate* of that Kingdom, if our *Modern Intelligencers* have given us a true Account and Relation of that Affairs.

After that *Elective Princes* have thus obtained to be made *Hereditary Monarchs*; one of their next deſires is, to render themſelves *Abſolute* in their *Government*: Wherein they may have received no ſmall Encouragement from the Succeſsful Attempts of ſome ſuch *Tyrannical Invader* of other *Mens Rights*, as the preſent *Hector of France*: And no little Help, in the neat way of ſubduing and inſlaving their own Country, they may have learnt from ſome ſuch contriving Fate, as was one of the *Catholick Kings* of *Spain*; who with an Army out of one of his Kingdoms, ſubverted the *Liberty* of Another. So ambitious are ſome Men of the ſo much envied Honour, of ceaſing to be *Kings* of Men, and becoming *Tryants* over Slaves at their Pleaſure.

With ſome ſuch kind of Diſeaſe, do we find *King John* alſo to have been infected in his time: But a *Chargeable Diſeaſe* you may well call it, which coſt him the Loſs of much of his *Territories* abroad, the Hearts of many of his *Subjects* (among both the Spiritualty and Temporalty) at home, and his *Peace* and *Tranquility* within, together with a free *Imperial Crown*, and all the Regalities attending it; and yet he dyed at laſt, without obtaining his ſo much-deſired Remedy, as I doubt not to make ſufficiently Evident in the following *Relation*.

In the Second Year of this *King John*, by Councel of the Burgeſſes of the City of London, Thirty Five of the moſt ſubſtantial and wiſeſt Men are Re-

corded to have been choſen, and (after ſome) called the Council of the City; of which yearly were Elected the Bayliffs, as long as they laſted; and after them the Mayor and Sheriffs: Which names we meet with, in few Years after. For about the latter end of this *King's* Nineth Year, we read of a Grant made to the *Citizens*, and confirmed by the *King's* Letters Patents; whereby they had Power to chuſe Yearly a Mayor, and Two Sheriffs. The Firſt *Mayor* upon Record, is *Henry Fitz Alwin*, ſworn and charged upon *Michaelmas-day*, in the Tenth Year of this *King*, *Anno Chriſti* 1210. who continued ſeveral Years *Mayor*: The *Sheriffs* were *Peter Duke*, and *Thomas Neel*, ſworn the ſame time. And the former Name and Rule of *Bayliffs* clearly diſcharged. St. *Matthew's* Day, Nine Days before *Michaelmas*, was the time the *Citizens* then allotted for their Sheriffs Election; and on *Michaelmas-day*, was the Mayor Ordained, by the like Order, to be choſen, and charged then with the others; though now this in part is altered.

This ſame Year is likewiſe noted in *Fabian*, as for the altering of the *Rulers of the City* from *Bayliffs*, to a *Mayor* and *Sheriffs*; ſo alſo for the changing of the *Bridge* from Timber to Stone; which was perfected about this time, by the Aid of the *Citizens* and Paſſengers; it having been Thirty Five Years in building, according to *Stow*; who places the Beginning hereof, as high as *Henry the Second's* days. So that, thence forward we may expect to find the Power of the *City*, and its Glory more and more encreaſing every Age.

That the Government of the *City* ſhould be thus changed at the Requeſt of the *Citizens*, and in favor of them fixt as they would have it, argues that their *Strength* then was thought conſiderable, & their Influence

fluence upon the reſt of the Nation eſteemed not to be ſmall. For at this time was K. *John* over-preſſed by the *Pope* and his *Clergy*, and reduced to ſo low an Ebb of Fortune, that but few Years paſſed, before he was fain to buy his Peace at no leſs a price than the Reſignation of his Crown. And therefore, in the midſt of his diſtreſs, by theſe Acts of Favour, he may be thought to endeavour to fix the *City* to his Intereſt, as hoping thereby to oblige the *Citizens* to appear in his behalf, againſt the Pride of theſe inſulting *Prieſts*. An Argument, doubtleſs, of their Power, and the *King's* Eſteem of it.

The Occaſion of the difference between the *King* and the *Pope*, (which brought ſuch Woe to the *Land*, and Trouble to the *King*) was the diſpleaſure he took againſt the *Monks* of *Canterbury*, for their Electing one to the *Arch-Biſhoprick*, contrary to his Mind; together with his Refractorineſs, in not hearkning to the advice of his Lords and Friends, who would have had him have yielded to the *Pope*, then too potent an Adverſary ſafely to be conteſted with. To which may be added, his continued Obſtinacy, in not yielding to terms of Accommodation and Accord; when as his Enemies grew more powerful, and his own Strength was much weakned by the loſs of *Normandy*. A ſharp Correction it proved to the King, to have much of his Territories abroad, his *Normans* antient Inheritance, took from him by the War, which the *French King* made upon him, by the *Pope's* exciting, (according to ſome Authors); to have his Land and Himſelf accurſed at home, his Lords abſolved of their Allegiance, that they might be enabled to riſe againſt him, and depoſe him; and he himſelf (at laſt) compelled for his own ſecurity, to give away his Crown and Dighity, and take it again of

the *Pope* at a certain Rent. As hard meaſure had the Kingdom, to have the Doors of *Churches* and other Places of Divine Service, ſhut up in *City* and *Country*, in *London*, and in the other Parts of the Land, that no Religious Worſhip might be uſed publickly; but the Dead muſt be buried like Dogs, in Ditches and Corners; No Sacraments adminiſtred; no Baptiſms; no Marriages; or if there were in any Places, it muſt be by ſpecial Licence, purchaſed (it may be) at great rates; and all this, for the Offence of one Man, or a few; which moſt probably did neither conſent to, nor could amend, without breaking former Laws and Oaths, and offending againſt the Principles of Honeſty, and the *Chriſtian Religion*. Suppoſe the Head *Shepherd* had offended; yet what had the Sheep done, to be uſed thus? Sure the *Pope* ſhewed himſelf hereby a *Lord of Lords*, though he pretends to call himſelf a *Servant of Servants*. From ſuch proud, haughty Servants, *Libera nos*. His *Popeſhip* would fain be eſteemed a *Father of Chriſtians*; but here he dealt very hardly with many of the *Sons of the Church*. A ſad Caſe, indeed, were we (poor Chriſtians) of the Common Herd in, ſhould our Religion allow us at every turn to be ſent to the *Devil*, becauſe the ambitious Pretences of our Governours would not ſuffer them to agree well together among themſelves.

But we know already, or have heard of too much of theſe *Prieſt's Pride*, to think them the moſt humble, the moſt mortified Men in the World. The profeſſed and avowed Principles of ſome of them tell us too too plainly, that we are not to take all they ſay to be either Law or Goſpell: Neither do every one of their Actions oblige us always to think, that they believe them-

themſelves in all they affirm. They may indeed ſometimes tell a fair ſmooth Tale, when they are got a little higher than their Neighbours, into a place where they know they muſt not be preſently contradicted; but when they be come down upon plain even Ground, we find them (for the moſt part) much like other men: Nay ſome of them (it may be) an Ace or two worſe. More Proud, more Ambitious, more Worldly, more Covetous; in a word, more debauch'd in Principles and Practiſes. I could quickly name (if I liſt) among us *Proteſtants*, of the *Reformed Religion*, of the *Church of England* (as ſome delight to ſtile themſelves) the Perſons, the Time, and the Place, the Dioceſs, the Shire, the Hundred, the Pariſh, where lives a double Benefic'd-man (ſo ſtrong an *Engliſh* Church man in Word and Deed, as not juſtly to be taxed with the imputation of a *Phanatick*, by ſuch as know the manner of his Converſe) who was not many years ſince depriv'd both of Office and Benefice, for none of the greateſt Faults that ever was. Surely the Pariſh, where the Offence was not comitted, deſerved not ſo ill at the Reverend *Biſhop's* Hands, as to be deprived of the Uſe and Benefit of their *Paſtor*. Neither know I wherein the harmleſs Pariſhoners of the other Place had ſo highly offended, as to merit the loſs of their Head Shepherd's over-ſight; unleſs we muſt fancy them acceſſary to his Young *Curate's* indiſcretion, in not bowing low enough at the Church-door, to a ſtately Dame of the Pariſh: So, if my Memory deceive me not, have I ſome where read it obſerv'd, and it ſeems alſo verified in the Hiſtory, that though the Name of *King's* was thrown quite out of *Rome*, yet the Power ſome induſtriouſly ſtrove ſtill to retain.

The Conditions, where on King *John* was reconcil'd to the *Pope*, were to this purport, That he ſhould admit the *Arch-Biſhop* to his See, peaceably to enjoy the Profits and Fruits thereof; permit the *Prior*, his *Monks*, and Others, before exil'd for the *Arch-Biſhop's* Cauſe, to re-enter the Land, without trouble, or future Moleſtation; together with Reſtitution to them to be made, of all Goods taken from them by his Officers, in the time of this variance: And that he ſhould likewiſe yield up into the *Pope's* Hands all his Right and Title to the Crown of *England*; with all Revenues, Honours, and Profits belonging to the ſame, as well Temporal as Spiritual, to hold it ever after, both He and his Heirs, from the *Pope*, and his Succeſſors, as the *Pope's Feodaries*.

Theſe Articles thus granted, and the Lords ſworn to maintain them, the *King* upon his bended Knees, taking the Crown from his Head, delivered it to the *Pope's Legate*, reſigning it into the *Pope's* hands, both in Word and Deed; and after five days reſumed it of the ſame Hands, by Virtue of a Bond or Inſtrument made unto the *Pope*; which I have here tranſcribed out of *Mathew* of *Paris's* Hiſtory; that ſuch as care not what Religion gets uppermoſt in the Land, may know what they are to expect, if *Popery* ſhould once get ſucn a head, as to come in again.

Johannes

JOhannes *Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ, &c. Omnibus* Christi *fidelibus, hanc Chartam inſpecturis, ſalutem in Domino. Univerſitati Veſtræ per hanc Chartam ſigillo noſtro Munitam Volumus eſſe notum, quod cum Deum & Matrem Noſtram Sanctam Eccleſiam Offenderimus in multis, & proinde Divina Miſericordia plurimum indigeamus, nec quid digne offerre poſſimus pro ſatisfactione Deo & Eccleſiæ debita facienda, niſi noſmet ipſos humiliemus et regna noſtra: Volentes nos ipſos humiliare pro illo qui ſe pro nobis humiliavit uſque ad Mortem, Gratia Sancti Spiritus inſpirante, non vi interdicti, nec timore coacti, ſed noſtra bona ſponteaq; Voluntate ac communi Concilio Baronum Noſtrorum Conferimus,*

& libere concedimus Deo & Sanctis Apoſtolis ejus Petro *&* Paulo *& Sanctæ* Romanæ *Eccleſiæ Matronæ Noſtræ, ac Domino* Papæ Innocentio, *ejuſque Catholicis ſucceſſoribus, totum Regnum Angliæ, & totum Regnum Hiberniæ, cum omni Jure & pertinentijs ſuis, pro Remiſſione Omnium Peccatorum Noſtrorum, & totius Generis Humani, tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis, & a modo illa ab eo & Eccleſia* Romana, *tanquam ſecundarius recipientes & tenentes, in præſentia Prudentis Viri* Pandulphi *Domini* Papæ *Subdiaconi et Familiaris. Exinde prædicto Domino* Papæ Innocentio, *ejuſq; Catholicis ſucceſſoribus & Eccleſiæ* Romanæ, *ſecundum ſubſcriptam formam fecimus & juravimus, & homagi-*

um

um ligium in præſentia Pandulphi, *ſi coram Domino* Papa *eſſe poterimus, eidem faciemus; Succeſſores noſtros et Hæredes de Uxore noſtra in perpetuum obligantes, ut ſimili modo ſummo* Pontifici *qui pro tempore fuerit, & Eccleſiæ* Romanæ, *ſine contradictione debeant fidelitatem præſtare, & homagium recognoſcere. Ad indicium autem hujus noſtræ perpetuæ Obligationis & conceſſionis, Volumus et Stabilimus, ut de proprijs et ſpecialibus redditibus noſtris prædictorum regnorum, pro omni ſervitio et conſuetudine, quæ pro ipſis facere debemus, ſalvis per omnia Denarijs Beati* Petri, *Eccleſia* Romana *mille marcas Eſterlingorum percipiat annuatim: in feſto ſcilicet Sancti* Michaelis *quingentas* Marcas, *et in*

Paſcha

Paſcha quingentas. Septingentas ſcilicet pro Regno Angliæ, *et trecentas pro Regno* Hiberniæ: *Salvis nobis et Hæredibus noſtris juſtitijs, Libertatibus, et Regalibus noſtris. Quæ omnia, ſicut ſupra ſcripta ſunt, rata eſſe volentes atque firma, obligamus nos et ſucceſſores noſtros contra non venire: et ſi nos vel aliquis ſucceſſorum Noſtrorum contra hæc attentare præſumpſerit, quicunque ille fuerit, niſi rite commonitus reſipuerit cadat a jure Regni. Et hæc charta Obligationis et conceſſionis noſtræ ſemper firma permaneat. Teſte meipſo apud domum Militum Templi juxta Doveram, coram* H. *Dublinenſi Archiepiſcopo,* Johanne *Norwicenſi Epiſcopo,* Galfrido *filio* Petri, W. *Comite Sarisberiæ,* Willielmo *Comite Pembroc.*

Pembroc. R. *Comite Bononiæ,* W. *Comite Warenne,* S. *Comite Winton.* W. *Comite Arundel,* W. *Comite de Ferrarijs,* W. *Briwere,* Petro *filio* Hereberti, Warino *filio* Geroldi, xv. *die* Maij, *An. Regni noſtri decimo quarto.*

In Engliſh thus:

JOHN by the Grace of *God* King of *England, &c.* to the Faithful in *Chriſt*, that ſhall ſee this Paper, greeting. To you all We would it ſhould be known by this Paper ſeal'd with Our Seal, That ſince We have offended *God* and our *Mother* the *Holy Church* in many things, and therefore ſtand in very great need of the *Divine Mercy*, and are not able to offer any due ſatisfaction to *God* and the *Church*, unleſs We humble Our Selves and Our Kingdoms: Being willing to humble Our Selves

Selves for *His* ſake, who humbled *Himſelf even unto Death for us*, through the Grace of the *Holy Spirit* inſpiring Us, not by force of the Interdict, nor compelled by Fear, but of Our Own good and free Will, and by the common Counſel of Our Lords We give, and freely yield to *God* and to his Holy Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul* and to Our *Antient Mother* the *Holy Roman Church*, and to Our *Lord Pope Innocent*, and to his *Catholick Succeſſors*, the whole Kingdom of *England*, and the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*, with all Right and Appurtenances thereto belonging, for the Remiſſion of all Our ſins, and the ſins of all Mankind, as well for the Living as for the Dead, and from henceforth from him and the *Roman Church* as a Feodary receiving and holding them, in the Preſence of the Wiſe *Pandulphus* Subdeacon and Servant

of

of our Lord the *Pope*. From henceforth to the aforenamed *Lord Pope Innocent*, and to his *Catholick Succeſſors* and to the *Church of Rome*, according to this Written form, We have made and ſworn *Leidge Homage* in the Preſence of *Pandulphus*; and if We could be before Our *Lord* the *Pope*, We would do it to him: Binding Our *Succeſſors* and *Heirs* by our *Wife* for ever, that in like manner to the *Pope* for the time being, and to the *Roman Church*, they perform *Fealty* without contradiction, and acknowledg *Homage*: Moreover in token of this Our perpetual Obligation and Grant We will and ordain, That out of Our proper and ſpecial Revenues of the aforeſaid Kingdoms, in lieu of all *Service* & *Cuſtoms*, We ought to do for the ſame, always excepting *Peterpence*, the *Church of Rome* receive Yearly a thouſand Marks *ſterling*: *viz.* At *Michael-*

Michaelmas five hundred, and at *Eaſter* five hundred, that is ſeven hundred for the Kingdom of *England*, and three hundred for the Kingdom of *Ireland*: ſaving to Us and our Heirs our *Juſtice*, *Liberties*, and *Royalties*. All which, as above written, willing to have ratified and confirmed, We bind *Us* and our *Succeſſors* not to do contrary: And if *We* or any of *Our Succeſſors* ſhall preſume to attempt ought againſt theſe *Preſents*, who ever he be, unleſs being rightly admoniſhed he repent, he ſhall loſe all *Right* to the Kingdom. And let this *Charter* of *Our Obligation* and *Grant* remain always firm.----*Witneſs Our Self at the Houſe of the* Knights-Templars, *near* Dover, *before* H. *Arch-Biſhop of* Dublin, John *Biſhop of* Norwich, Jeffery *the Son of* Peter, W. *Earl of* Salisbury, William *Earl of* Pembrook, R. *Earl of* Bononia, W. *Earl of* Warenne, S. *Earl of* Wincheſter, W. *Earl of* Arundel, W. *Earl* Ferrars, W. Briwere, Peter *the Son of* Herebert, Warine *the Son of* Gerold, *on the Fifteenth Day of* May, *in the Fourteenth Year of Our Reign.*

And

And now ye Engliſhmen can ye be content to be the Popes ſlaves? you here ſee their title, their claim, what they pretend to; and if they can but once get the upper hand, aſſure your ſelves they will quickly ſet their title a foot. Nay, may not you find this the ground-work of their laſt grand Plot, to deſtroy our King, and ſubvert the Government, and root out this Peſtilent Hereſie (as they are pleas'd to term the Proteſtant Religion) out of this part of the Northern world? Are you willing your Native Country ſhall once again become the Popes Packhorſe, to bear all the Burthens theſe unmerciful Maſters ſhall think fit to lay on it? If you value not your Chriſtian Religion, have you ſo little eſteem for your Native Liberty, your Engliſh freedom, your birthright, as to ſell it to *Romes* Chapmen for a meſs of Pottage, or barter it away to your fellow Citizens for the husks they feed their Swine with? If your Prince be once compell'd to become *Romes* Tributary, and here you ſee their Plea, you have little reaſon to expect, that you ſhall continue any long time free. Look upon your *French* Neighbours on the other ſide of the Sea, and ſee how they groan under worſe than Ægyptian Bondage, enſlav'd both in Bodies and Souls? See how lowly the poor oppreſſed Commons go in their wooden Shoes, and Canvaſs Breeches: How greedily they feed upon bare bread and garlick, and, amidſt your preſent plenty, count how many hungry meals they make upon that courſe Fare, if you have figures enough in your Arithmetick to number them. Amidſt the overflowing of your Cups, think how often they drink plain water, or the ſmall ſowre verjuice of their water'd Grapes, when the Kings Taxes have ſwept away 19 Hogſheads of their Wine out of 20. To riſe a little higher, give me leave to tell you, what I have ſome-

ſime heard; for here I profeſs to ſpeak only upon hear-ſay, having never made Tryal hereof in my own particular, nor ſo much as deſiring ocular demonſtration, hoping that none ſhall ever live to ſee theſe *French* Fruits growing upon *Engliſh* ground, nor any of their ſeed ſown on my Native ſoil to proſper. 'Tis out of the mouth of one, who liv'd amongſt them many years, I ſhall take leave to acquaint you, that in the *French* Kings late Wars, the Taxes roſe ſo high, that many would willingly have thrown up their eſtates into the Kings Hands, for the time theſe impoſitions were to laſt, but they were to be hang'd by the Kings Decree upon ſo doing: So that they muſt upon pain and perils of Death manage their own Lands, and what the Product of their Grounds would not amount to, muſt be procured ſome other way towards their appointed Payments. Whether it be eaſy to make brick without ſtraw, judge ye. Will you like to have a Vapouring Gentleman, or a huffing Soldier with Piſtols in his Saddle bow, come hectoring up to your Plow-tails, and commanding you to leave your work, and go along with him to ſhew him on his way, where you muſt ſometimes run along by his Horſe ſide, two or three miles it may be, without a penny for your pains, not ſo much as daring to ſhew any the leaſt token of Regret, for fear of taſting the mercy of one of his Piſtols. Will it pleaſe you do ye think, to ſtay at home by turns every day one of you, to give Directions to every roaring ſwaſh Buckler, that rides with Sword and Piſtols when he comes furiouſly into the Village, and calls as with Authority, for a Guide to run along with him at his pleaſure, when as now ſome of you will ſcarce vouchſafe other than a rough anſwer, or Awkward directions to the travelling ſtranger,

ſtranger, that civilly deſires ſo ſmall a thing at your hands: Now ſome of you will ſcarce ſhew any reſpect either to your equals or betters, but what would you think of it, to be made deſiſt from your work, to ſhew obeyſance, at two or three furlongs diſtance, to thoſe Hectoring Blades of the Country that expect and demand it at your hands? And yet ſome ſuch thing have I heard done. What a wonderous pleaſing ſpectacle would this be in *England*, where the meaneſt little values the threats and menaces of the greateſt Gentleman, on whom they have no dependance for work or maintainance, or hopes to gain any thing by him?

From the poor enſlaved Peaſants of *France*, come we to the Gentry of the Land, and ſee how they creep, and cringe, and croutch to the Nobles, and how humbly theſe muſt alſo behave themſelves towards their Arbitrary King. And the King himſelf, had not the ſucceſs of his Arms rais'd him to a higher pitch then his Anceſtors, muſt have vail'd to the tripple Crown, and have receiv'd the Popes more imperious Commands with a little more ſubmiſſion; would he have liv'd in ſecurity, then now we believe he does. How will you my dear Countrymen bring your ſelves to diſgeſt theſe compel'd humiliations? Would any of theſe ſervile ſlaviſh ſubmiſſions go down well with your free hearts? Yet ſuch, if not worſe muſt you expect upon the introduction of Popery into the Land. Your Bodies, your Souls, your Eſtates, your Poſterity, muſt then be ſubjected to Arbitrary Powers. Though the dregs of the Popes Cup might be poſſibly nauſeous to ſome of your queaſy ſtomachs, yet it may be many of you could be well enough contented with a refined *Caſſandrian* Popery, the *German* Emperours *Interim*, or ſome ſuch motley model of Religion, as the preſent *French*

King had contriv'd (as I have read) to have introduc'd into his Realms, had his late Arms subdued the Refractory *Hollanders*; Nay, for a good need the *Trent* Faith might have went down with some careless indifferents; But what would you say to that more refin'd slavery also, which must in likelyhood follow your refin'd Popery? How would you like to have your Priviledges, Properties, your free *English* Liberty, your lives, estates, and fortunes, and all that's near and dear unto you, to lie at other mens mercy, in the Power of such, whom you have little reason to esteem your Friends, and all this and much more (if more can be) to be done by your own consents? How well would this please you? To have a *Paris* Parliament, *French* Councils, and a bigotted domineering Clergy, that shall preach you up slavery from their Pulpits, and make you to tast the sweets of it in their Courts. When you must always speak well of Father Fryar, be it only for fear; And if you see the Priests debauching your Wives or Daughters, tho in distrust to your own Eye-sight, you must not openly profess to believe otherwise, than that they are blessing them, nor so much as dare to mutter between your teeth, unless you'll run the danger of being clapt up in the Inquisition for an Heretick, or be liable to the greetings of surly Mr. *Paritor*, summoning you to my Lord Bishops Court, for defaming the Clergy, and raising a scandal upon the Church. Now many of your Lands you hold for your own, but don't you know that much must return back to the once destroy'd Covents, if Popery prevails, when you shall be taught to believe, that whatever is given to the Priests, the Church, is dedicated to God, and so not to be alienated without manifest sacriledge? How like ye from Freeholders to become Tenants to a Luxurious and lascivious multitude of idle

Monks

Monks and Fryers, full fed upon the ſweat of your labours, and good for little elſe but to diminiſh your Eſtates, and baſtardiſe your Poſterity?

Look into ſome of the Popiſh Collegiate Foundations, and ſee whether you cannot find a fixt ſet allowance appointed *ad Purgandos Renes*? So that Retainers, Dependers, Brewers, Bakers, and ſuch like, were bound (I have ſometime heard) to ſend their Maids and Daughters at ſet times to Phyſick theſe lazy idle Drones. *Saturdays* once a month I have heard nam'd, other days it's likely they could come faſt enough home to their Houſes. Many now adays have conſciences large enough, to be dealing with other mens; but how would you bear it to ſee your own Wives, Daughters and Kinſwomen wholly at the Devotion of the Pope's luſtful unmarried Clergy? Their Auricular Confeſſion is as neat a Device to command your Wives hearts, their Honeſties, and your Purſes, as thoſe Indian Prieſts the *Bramins* lying with the new married Bride the firſt night. How powerfully inclin'd the Popiſh Clergy are that way, you may learn from the *Danes* and *Swedes*, whoſe Magiſtrates have found Guelding (I have ſomewhere read) a more effectual way, to keep them from coming to diſturb their Country, than putting to death: And this is ſaid to have been the Advice of a converted Nun. Such female Votaries being moſt likely beſt able to know the Clergy's Conſtitution, their publick Houſes being ſet ſo near together in Popiſh Countries. In ſome places you may find the Religious Men and Women (as they call them) under the ſame Roof, to their frequent converſe. Take up your Kenning-glaſſes, and view ſome of the beſt ſpots of ground in this Land, and it's much if you do not find, that the Covents of Men had their Nunneries of Women ſituated near enough, to have mu-

tual converſe one with another, by ſecret paſſages under the Earth. If you will not believe me, as if writing out of prejudice, more than knowledge, ask ſuch as have liv'd amongſt the Papiſts beyond Sea under a Popiſh Government, and they may chance to tell you more of their manners, of the Clergy's Power, and Laity's Subjection, and the cruel Mercies of the Bloody Inquiſition. Do you think that theſe Ravenous ſtrangers will be more kind to you, than to their own Country-men? That ſuch as look upon you but as Hereticks, and ſo little better than plain Baſtards: Your Parents having not in their opinions been rightly Married, becauſe not according to the Conſtitution of their Church, who think themſelves highly injur'd by you, in your keeping the Abby-Lands from reverting to their antient Uſe, and not building anew the Old Religious Houſes deſtroyed in your Fore-fathers days, who already gnaſh upon you with their Teeth, in hopes of a future Power over you, and have had I know not how many Plots, Projects and Contrivances to deſtroy you Body and Soul, in proſecution whereof ſo many of their Brethren in Iniquity have already loſt their Lives by your hands; That ſuch ſhould be thought by any Friends to *England*, and it's Laws? That ſuch whimſical Phantaſies ſhould enter into the hearts of Engliſh men? Do you think they will alter their manners, by ſhifting their Habitations? That the Blackamore will ever change his Skin by coming into a colder Climate?

Let us look a little upon the firſt Diſcoveries of their late grand Plot, (ſo often inculcated upon the Nation by His Majeſties many Royal Proclamations and Speeches, that no Loyal Spirits can any longer doubt of the Truth of it, who give any deference to the Word of a King) and we ſhall find there their main

main Design after our King's Murder, to have rooted out the Gentry of the Nation, whose Lives should it seems, have been offered up as so many Sacrifices to appease the injur'd Ghost of their Murder'd Prince. Some of your Women, perhaps they might have condescended to have sav'd for their Lusts, your little Children for Slaves, the Poor and baser sort for their Servants, but the Men of Substance must in likelihood have gone all to pot, as Obstacles to their cruel intended Design. And yet still 'tis but a perhaps; we are not sure they would have spared any. Nay rather, we are morally certain, that all of any tolerable Age must have Died, if the Deposition of Mr. *Bedlow* (so often credited) remains yet of any value amongst us, from whose Attestation publickly sworn upon Oath in *Ireland*'s Tryal, we find the extent of the Design, (besides the subversion of the Government) to have been, the extirpating of the Protestant Religion to that Degree, (which was alwaies concluded on in all the Consults wherein he was) that they would not leave any Member of any Heretick in *England*, that should survive, to tell in the Kingdom hereafter, that there was ever any such Religion in *England*, as the Protestant Religion. If discovered, and so frustrated, Contrivances may not sufficiently warn you, to beware of the Jesuits Intentions to youward: Consider, Matters of Fact, and see what hath already been done in other places, and so come from thinking what hath been done, to what may be done, and what assuredly should be done, if some might have their waies, minds and desires. Cast a look or two upon *Bohemia*, that once flourishing Land, under *Wickliff*'s Doctrine; Famous for the Martyrdom of *John Huss*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*; the Courage of blind *Zisca* with his valiant Souldiers, and noted also for their Liberty of Chusing their Princes: See now how

much of the *Bohemians* Antient Liberty or Religion is yet remaining amongſt them. Enough of the practices and devices the Jeſuits uſed to new model the Nation, after they had once reduc'd it by force of Arms, you may find in the Hiſtory of the *Bohemian* Perſecution, *London*, Printed by *B. A.* for *John Walker*.

But to return to King *John*, whence I have digreſſed, after his Reſignation and Reaſſumption of the Crown at the yearly Rent of 900 or 1000 Marks of Silver, the Return of the Archbiſhop, and the other Exiles into the Land, we read of the releaſing and annulling of the Interdiction, which had laſted ſix years, odd months and days, but it was not before that the King, according to one of the Articles, had made reſtitution to the ſufferers, which the Chronicle ſaith amounted in the whole to 18000 Marks. One would have thought, after ſo much trouble, the King would have been weary of endeavouring after Arbitrary Power. But the Event may make us apt to think, that among other inducements, to yield to the forecited hard terms of Accommodation, one might be ſome hope to domineer the better over the Laity, now he was reconciled to the Clergy, and ſo take a compleat revenge upon ſuch, as would not erewhile aſſiſt him againſt the Pope. For not long after the late Agreement, we find mention made of ſo great diſſention between the King and his Lords, that much People were raiſed on either part. One occaſion alledg'd is, that the King would not hold *Edward*'s Laws, and yet he had taken an Oath, at the Return of the Exil'd Clergy-men into *England*, to call in all wicked Laws, and put in place of them the Laws of King *Edward*, if *Stow*'s Annals record the Truth. Another, that the King would have Exil'd without Law the Earl of *Cheſter*, for ſome Advice he had

given

given him, relating to his Vices, which the other did not well digeſt. The King's Party being then the ſtronger, the Lords took the City of *London* for their Refuge, and remained therein. Though we read of much harm done this year in *London* by Fire, and of the burning a great part of the Burrough of *Southwark*; yet it ſeems the City was ſtrong enough to become the Barons Bulwark againſt the inrag'd King's Ire: And ſiding with them, ſo inhanced the Barons fame, that (as *Stow* tells us) all except a few went to the Barons ſide, ſo that King *John* durſt not peep out of *Windſor* Caſtle. At length by the Prelates Mediation a Peace was made for a while, and to eſtabliſh it the firmer, the King and the Lords ſoon after met with great ſtrength on either ſide on *Berham* Down, where a Charter was deviſ'd, made, and ſealed by the King to the Barons content. *A.C.* 1214. according to *Fabian*'s account. *Henry Fitz Alwyn* continued then Mayor of *London*, *Ralph Egland* and *Conſtantine le Joſne* being Sheriffs in this 14th year of K. *John*'s Reign. Yet in *Stow* we read of a Meeting appointed in a Meadow between *Staines* & *Windſor*, where the King granted the Liberties without any difficulty, the Charter whereof is dated, *June* 16. *An. Reg.* 17.

As for the loud and clamorous Declamations of ſuch, who tell us, that the grand Charter of our Lives, Liberties and Eſtates, our Properties and Priviledges, was gain'd at firſt by Rebellion, and would thus ſlily as it were inſinuate, that it was and is retained by like unlawful waies and means: We would deſire them to give us better proofs for what they ſay, than their own bare Aſſeverations, which will not yet go for currant Coin in all Markets. That *Edward* the Confeſſor's Laws were very acceptable to the generality of the Nation, we have great reaſon to believe from their continued deſire to retain them. That *William* the firſt

granted

granted the uſe of them to the Nation, is ſufficiently inſtanced above. That *Henry* the firſt uſed them is likewiſe mentioned before, for ſo affirms the Chronicle. That King *John* himſelf accorded to them at his coming to the Crown, we may (I doubt not) reaſonably believe, conſidering his Title, and the Conteſt he was like to have about it. If a Negative may be admitted an Argument in the caſe, I do not remember that I have read of any difference between him and his Lay-Barons about them, till after that he was reconciled to the Pope, by the reſignation of his Crown, and performance of the other conditions enjoyned him. But after the King's giving away his Crown, and reſuming it again upon a Foundation wholly and altogether new, I know not but he might think all former obligations void, and ſo would endeavour to have his Will of the Laity, when he hop'd he had fixt the Clergy faſt enough on his ſide, by the new condeſcenſion he had lately made to the Pope's Ambitious deſires and pretenſions. It was after this Reconciliation that we read in *Stow* of the Barons coming to St. *Edmundsbury*, and producing the Charter of King *Henry* the firſt, which they had received of the Archbiſhop *Stephen*.

However, let the occaſional Cauſes of making and confirming this grand Charter of our Engliſh Liberties be what they will; whatever were the grounds of the Barons deſiring, or the motives of the King's granting it: Upon what Foundation ſoever (ſo it be ſound at the bottom) ſtand theſe Pacts and Compacts between the King and his Subjects. For my part I know no reaſon why Princes and Great men ſhould not think it their Duty, to keep their words firm and inviolable, as well as perſons of meaner rank and quality. 'Twas a *Romiſh* Cardinal, an *Italian*, a Papiſt, living long in the *French* Government, from whom I have heard

heard come the Doctrine, of not being a ſlave to ones word. As the Duty, ſo I believe it the Intereſt of Governours, to be juſt and firm to their Promiſes, otherwiſe it is a Queſtion how long the people under them will continue firm to theirs, when they think they have a convenient opportunity to break them. Fear may do much, but Conſcience I fancy will do but little in this Caſe, to keep the one Party fixt and firm to his Bargain, when the other values not to perform the Conditions of their mutual Compact.

Such as love to talk of nothing but Conquerours and Conqueſts, captivating and inſlaving men to Arbitrary Powers, as if at feud and defiance with all mankind but themſelves and their own Party: if my Advice may be taken, they would do wiſely to ſtifle ſuch harſh unpleaſing Doctrines in their own breaſts, and not openly produce them in publick view to all without diſtinction, leſt one bold confident brazen-fac'd fellow or other ſhould ſtart up out of the Vulgar Herd, and ask them, why the people would not have as good a Title to their Power, when they had got the upper hand, as thoſe Princes, who claim only by Conqueſt? A Queſtion that at firſt view would ſeem very plauſible to many, if well ſtated without the previous conſideration of Oaths, Promiſes and Compacts. As for the conſequences, that ſome may fancy hid in the belly of it, like the Armed *Grecians* in the *Trojan* Horſe, look they to them, who find themſelves concern'd on either ſide.

It's well enough known, what a large tract of ground, the *French* King hath ſeis'd in the *Spaniſh* Netherlands within theſe few years, and brought the People of thoſe Provinces under his own Subjection by force. That his title to thoſe lands at firſt was none of the beſt is plain enough to ſuch, as know his Pretenſions. As for that ſhadow of claim, which might be fancied to accrue to him by his Queen, the late

late *Spaniſh* KingsDaughter, that it is clear done away, as far as words and writings could go, is manifeſted by the Printed Articles of the *Pyrenæan* Treaty. The beſt Title, I find he had to thoſe Couutries, was the *Spaniſh* Kings weakneſs to defend thoſe Subjects himſelf, together it may be with ſome unwillingneſs to let them look to the payment of as great an Army, as was thought needful for their defence, out of their own Mony, by their own Officers. He was made perhaps to fear, leſt the Soldiers ſhould have been more at the Devotion of ſuch as paid them, than at his that rais'd them, though he appointed ſuch a General, ſuch Officers, and ſuch Soldiers as he thought fit, and had had the ſole ordering of them, at his own will, and pleaſure, in all other things but naming the Paymaſters. Or rather was it not his prime Councellors, the *Spaniards*, loathneſs to loſe the many pickings they glean'd out of their Offices in thoſe Countries, by defrauding the Soldiers of their appointed pay, and ſo cheating both King and Country? Publick good is much bandied up and down among men in words, but in truth and reality, private intereſt is that which moſt overſways. As for the reſt of the *French* Kings pretences, that he makes uſe of them for meer colours, is evident by the novel invention of Dependencies. If need be, we doubt not but, like *Haniball* paſſing over the rugged *Alps* with his Army, he can either find a way or make one; be it but ſuch a one, as his *Manifeſto*, at the beginning of his late Wars with the *Dutch*, tells us of, *viz.* his own Glory: One of the trueſt pretenſions I believe of all.

Now put the Caſe and ſuppoſe, that the Inhabitants of theſe late ſubdued Countries (brought under the *French* Kings Subjection by the force of his Arms, and all former right and title to them being relinquiſh'd by their ancient Prince the King of *Spain*

Spain in his late Treaties) ſhould one time or other, by ſome unexpected, unſeen, unthought of accident, get ſuch power into their hands, as to break off theſe *French* Chains of Slavery, beat the *French* Kings Officers and Soldiers out of their Country, and keep him at a Bay by the ſtrength of their Arms: the Queſtion would be among our Politick Caſuiſts, whether they would not have as good right and Title, to place the Government of their Country in what hands they pleaſed, as the *French* King now hath in actual poſſeſſion: My meaning is of ſuch, who ſhall not have paſs'd away themſelves, by Oaths, Covenants and Compacts. That they ſit down quietly under the *French* Government, and do not publickly oppoſe, is but a ſilent argument, a negative proof at beſt. They do not openly declare their diſſent, *ergo* they aſſent and conſent, is ſuch a concluſion that will not well and cleverly follow from the premiſes. What ſuch as are for the preſent *French* intereſt may affirm, let them likewiſe well prove, but methinks true *Engliſh* men ſhould not be over-ready to diſclaim the *Netherlands* right, when they call to mind, that in Queen *Elizabeths* days our Governours thought good to defend the poor diſtreſſed Provinces, againſt the Tyrannical Arbitrary pretences of the *Spaniſh* King, who, contrary to their ancient priviledges would have reduc'd them all by force to Popery and Slavery, to oppoſe which, their Neighbours, eſpecially *England*, ſo powerfully aſſiſted them, that the *Spaniard* was fain at laſt to declare, he would treat with them, as with free States, before he could get a treaty of peace with them. Such as break ancient Covenants, and fling the firſt ſtone, had need ſtand upon ſafe and ſure ground, leaſt they find too many ſtones flying about their Ears before the end of the fray. We moreover have found the *Spaniards* within theſe few years coming

coming into the assistance of these same new States, once his old Subjects, against the *French* Kings Power ready in a manner to over-run them. We may have heard likewise of publick Addresses, in behalf of the same side, made of late to our present King, and esteem'd the general Consent of the Nation.

After King *John* had granted the grand Charter to his Lords, and every one was departed peaceably into his own Country, there were hopes doubtless of a happy peace to ensue, and long to continue. But it seems those hopes were soon blasted. For the very next year, *viz.* the 15, we read of the late agreed peace's being violated and broken by the King, who, according to my Author, persevering in his wrong, would in no wise be induc'd to hold his own grants, but to execute all things after pleasure, nothing after Law and Justice. These violations produc'd a new War between King *John* and his Nobles, which ended not till after the Kings Death. So troublesome was it to the Nation, so dangerous to the King, that he should have such ill Ministers about him, who were either authors or followers of no better advice, then what could not consist with the Kings keeping his Royal Word. That the Sheep were made only for the Shepheard, to clip, shear, pill, and slay at his own will and pleasure, is a Doctrine that the poor quiet innocent harmless Sheep would no longer willingly assent to, than while the Knife is held at their throat, how acceptable soever it may be to the ravenous Wolves, and the degenerate Dogs of the flock.

When King *John* found himself too weak to contend with his Barons, and yet it seems by the event not willing enough to keep to his former grants, he sent beyond Sea, and call'd in strangers to his Assistance. We read that *Northfolk* and *Suffolk* were the Lands promised to those strangers, that would

would come over to aid the King, who had a little before got the Pope to diſannul the aforeſaid Charter and liberties granted ere while by him, and excommunicate the Barons. We have mention made in *Stow* 2 or 3 times of ſtrangers coming over. So many of them were caſt away at one time by Tempeſt, who were coming over, Men, Women and Children, that it's ſaid of 4000 not one eſcap'd alive. So that we may obſerve, 'tis an old trick to call in Foreigners upon the Natives, when Arbitrary deſigns are on foot. When the King was found to have invited ſtrangers to his aid, the Lords alſo ſent into *France* for help and ſuccour. When two Women fall a ſcolding, and pulling one anothers head-cloths, whoever firſt began the fray, it is much but both will be in fault before it end. *London* was the place, where the Lords kept themſelves together, till the expected aid and ſuccour from beyond Sea was brought to them under *Lewis* the *French* Kings Son, who landing in *England* with a ſtrong Army, came afterwards to *London*, and was there received. Hence he with the Lords departing, won many Caſtles in the Land, and at their return had the *Tower* of *London* given up to them by appointment. Tho the *Tower* held long for the King, yet 'twas the City it ſeems that bare the ſway, and adhered to the Lords. What a ſtrength they were of we may obſerve out of *Stow*, where King *John* is ſaid to have made haſt to beſiege *London*, but the Londoners were hereby ſo little daunted, that they ſet open their Gates, and were ready to meet him ten miles off the City, whereupon the King withdrew, underſtanding their boldneſs, and multitude; when the Major *Roger Fitz Alwyn* was accuſed to be favourable to the Kings Party, we find him quickly diſcharg'd of his Office, and one *Serle Mercer* choſen in his place; ſo great was the favour of the Citizens

to

to the Barons and their Cauſe, that they ſpar'd not their own head Officer and Ruler, when he lay under the ſuſpicion of favouring Arbitrary deſigns, ſo contrary to the mind of the Citizens. The War ſtill continuing, and King *John* being not able to prevail, tho the Pope interceded by his Legate, he had at laſt (as ſome writes) all his Arbitrary deſigns quench'd with a Cup of Poyſon, at *Swinſtead* Abby about *Lincoln*. Tho another Author is ſaid to affirm that he died of the flux at another place.

Soon after this unhappy unfortunate King *Johns* death, we meet with an eminent inſtance of *Engliſh* mens Loyalty, as well as of their love of liberty and freedom; for though the King and his Lords were at ſo great a difference moſt of the latter part of his Reign, and he left the Throne and his life at ſuch a time, when his Barons were likely in outward appearance to be much too ſtrong for him & his, his ſurviving Heir being but then a Child of about 9 years of age: Yet, as if all rancour and animoſity againſt the King and his Party was dead and buried with him in his Grave, the wheel of affairs was ſo turn'd, as it were, in an inſtant, that *Lewis* and his ſtrangers were disguſted, and the young Fatherleſs Prince was proclaim'd, and Crown'd King of the *Land*, at an age wherein he was not fit to be left to his own guidance without a Tutor, It's plain enough by this inſtance, that *Engliſh* hearts were more loyal, than naturally to deſire the ruine of their Prince and his Family; if at any time they appear'd in Arms againſt him in defence of their Lives, Liberties and Freedoms, how ready have they ſhewed themſelves to accord and ſubmit, as ſoon as thoſe men of ill Principles, and Arbitrary practices, were remov'd from their Prince, who had rais'd thoſe clouds of diſcontent between him and his People?

The

The chief of thoſe that ſo ſoon returned to their Allegiance, were the powerful Earls of *Pembroke* and *Cheſter*, who drew with them a very conſiderable retinue. They may be probably thought to hope, to infuſe better Principles into their young Prince in his Nonage, than appeared by former Arbitrary actions to have been in his Father, and ſo model the Government into a better frame in the time of that power, they were, as the chief Nobles, moſt likely to have under the King in his younger days. Neither do I know but ſomwhat might proceed from remorſe of Conſcience. The Earl of *Cheſter*, in the 2d year of the Kings Reign, taking his journey into the *Holy-Land*, the Religion of thoſe times having made that the uſual way of Expiation. Some ſuch intent of the Earl ſtands likewiſe upon record in one of the Chronicles, ſaith my Author. Another very probable occaſion of this ſudden change of Affairs in the Kingdom, may be ſuppoſed to have riſen from the Death-bed confeſſion of a *French* Nobleman, who is reported to have diſcovered *Lewis*'s intent, to ruine, deſtroy, and quite root out thoſe *Engliſh* Lords that adhered to him, as if in deteſtation of their diſloyalty to their own natural *Engliſh* Soveraign. When the Barons came once to find, that he, whom they had called in to defend them againſt their Kings Arbitrarineſs, intended to violate and break their Covenants eſtabliſhed at firſt between them, when he ſhould come to have opportunity, and ſo turn their implored aid into their certain deſtruction, they might well think they had reaſon enough to diſclaim his Alliance, and endeavour to fruſtrate his privy intentions, by returning to their former Allegiance as ſoon as a fit ſeaſon preſented it ſelf: Conditional promiſes not being very commonly reputed to bind the one party, when the conditions required are not

performed by the other. Whatever the true occaſion was, *London* we find the place where this turn was firſt publickly declared, by proclaiming *Henry* King throughout the City, *Oct.* 20. ſo conſiderable was even the reputed favour of the Citizens. *Lewis* abode there indeed afterwards a while, and the Barons on his ſide, but his ſtrength ſo diminiſhed in a little time, that he was glad at laſt to take Money and go away upon compoſition, even in the 1ſt year of this King, or beginning of the 2d.

This K. *Hen.* being the Son of ſuch a Father, whoſe practices too much betrayed his Principles, and born in ſo troubleſom a time, as his Fathers conteſt with the Clergy, we may be apt to believe he had a ſpice of his Fathers malady. So full of troubles do we find his Reign, ſuch complaints of the Government, ſuch amendments endeavoured, and reformations made, one while by the peaceable Councils of the Parliament, another while by the compulſive power of the Barons Swords: all which we may impute, either to his own natural inbred diſpoſition, or elſe to the over-ruling advices of ill Miniſters, ſo often working upon the Kings Good-nature, as upon ſlight pretences to make his power ſerve their own Intereſt, to carry on their corrupt arbitrary deſigns: So many were the ups and downs, riſings and falls, changes and turns of Fortune in theſe times, ſuch variableneſs and mutability of Councils in affairs, and the City of *London* ſo much concerned in moſt of the conſiderable Actions then on foot, (now in the King's favour, as ſoon again out of it, one while enjoying their ancient Priviledges and Cuſtoms, another time deprived of their Liberties, and their Franchiſes ſeized upon ſlight occaſions, and anon again reſtored to all, with addition of new grants,) that I find it convenient, through much of this Kings Reign, to write Annals after my Author.

In

In the 3d of this King is mention made of a Parliament kept at *London*. In the 4th were Proclamations made in *London*, and through the Land, that all Strangers ſhould depart out of the Land, except ſuch as came with Merchandize; the intent hereof is ſaid to be wholly to rid the Land of ſuch ſtrangers as poſſeſt Caſtles in it contrary to the Kings Will and Pleaſure. This year alſo was the King Crowned the 2d time at *Weſtminſter*. In the 6th was detected a Conſpiracy within *London*, which the King is ſaid to have taken ſo grievouſly, that he was minded to have thrown down the City Walls, till conſidering that it was only a deſign of ſome of the Raſcality, and not of the Rulers, he aſſuaged his diſpleaſure taken againſt the City. *Robert Serle* was then Mayor, *Rich. Renger*, *Joſeus le Joſne*, Sheriffs. *An. Reg.* 7. in a Council kept at *London*, *Stow* tells us, the King was required by the Peers Spiritual and Temporal to confirm the Liberties, for which the War was made againſt his Father, and he had ſworn to obſerve at the departure of *Lewis* out of *England*, whereupon the King commanded the Sheriffs to enquire by the Oaths of Twelve lawful men, what were the Liberties in *England* in his Grand-fathers time, and ſend the Inquiſition ſo made up to *London*. Hence may we obſerve that *England* had Liberties and Rights of their own, before the Barons War in King *John*'s days, and therefore ſeem injuriouſly upbraided, as if they got them firſt by Rebellion. The good Government of *England*, which (as a modern Author words it) was before like the Law of Nature, only written in the hearts of men, came (upon obtaining the 2 Charters) to be expreſt in Parchment, and remains a Record in writing, though theſe Charters gave us no more than what was our own before. The 8th is noted for the grant made to

the King, by his Barony in Parliament, of the Ward and Marriage of their Heirs. A good advantage ſomtimes for the King, to fix Noble mens Eſtates in ſuch Families as he beſt pleaſed.

A.R.9. A Fifteenth was granted to the King, to aid him in his right beyond the Seas, and he, by confirming the great Charter, granted to the Barons and People their rights. The 11th year is of note for many beneficial Grants made to *London* by the King. The Sheriffwick of *London* and *Middleſex* was let to farm to the Sheriffs of *London*, for 300 *l.* yearly. On *Feb.*18. was granted, that all Wears in *Thames* ſhould be pluckt up and deſtroyed for ever. On *March* 16. the King granted by his Charter enſealed, that the Citizens of *London* ſhould paſs Toll-free through the Land, and upon any Citizen's being conſtrained to pay Toll in any place of *England*, the Sheriffs were impowered to attach any man of that place coming to *London* with his goods, and to keep and with-hold till the Citizens were reſtored all ſuch Moneys took from them, with coſts and damages. *Aug.* 18. was granted to the Citizens Warren, that is, free liberty of Hunting within a certain circuit about *London*. Yet notwithſtanding we read in another Author, in this years-Hiſtory, of the Kings compelling the *Londoners* to lay him down a large ſum of Money, beſides the 15th part of their moveables, becauſe forſooth they had given *Lewis* (who came to their aid in K. *John's* days with an Army) 5000 Marks at his departure out of *England*. It may be the King gave them ſome of theſe Priviledges (which coſt him nothing) to induce them to give down their Money the more willingly, and not too much to diſpleaſe them, whoſe power was ſo well known in thoſe days, and afterward experienced to ſome mens coſt. *Roger Duke* Mayor, *Stephen Bockerel*, and *Henry Cobham* Sheriffs this

this year, and also the next, *viz.* 12. when the Franchises and Liberties of the City were by the King confirmed; and to each of the Sheriffs was granted to have 2 Clerks, & 2 Officers, & to the Citizens that they should have and use a common Seal. This year we read that the King in a Council held at *Oxford*, proclaimed, that being of age he would rule himself at pleasure, and forthwith cancelled the Charters of Liberties, as granted in his Nonage. Whereupon it followed (says my Author) that whoso would enjoy the Liberties before granted, must renew their Charters of the Kings new Seal at a price awarded: But the Barons shortly after declared to the King, that except he would restore the Charter lately cancelled they would compel him by the Sword: Such brisk Assertors were they (it seems) resolved to be of their Liberties. On the 13th, while the Bishop of *London* was at high Mass in St. *Pauls*, happened suddenly such dark mists of Clouds, and such a Tempest of Thunder and Lightening, that the People got out of the Church, and left the Bishop there in great fear, with but a small attendance. For all the many brags Papists make of their Mass, and the wonderful power and vertue they would fain persuade us to believe there is in it, it seems then all had not faith enough to trust too much in it, when fear and thick darkness had seized on them, though 'twas the common voice in those days, that a few Masses could deliver mens Souls out of Purgatory: But you may be sure they were well to be paid for first. Noted in the 14th was the Ordinance made by the Mayor *Roger Duke*, and the Rulers of *London*, that no Sheriff should continue in Office longer than one year; the Cause related was the opportunity some of them made use of to take extortions and bribes, with other defaults, by reason of the continuance of their

Office. The 17th is not lightly to be paſs'd over, for that the K. therein kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Worceſter*, according to *Stow*, where he removed all his Officers and Councillors, Biſhops, Earls, and Barons, and ſent for ſtrangers, *viz. Pictavians*, retain'd them in his Service, and committed to them the keeping of his Caſtles and Treaſures. What could hence be expected but murmurings and repinings amongſt the Natives? Accordingly we hear ſome time after of Meſſengers ſent by the Barons to the King, requeſting the diſplacing of thoſe ſtrangers, and alſo threatning, that otherwiſe they would depoſe him, and create a new King. A bold meſſage from as bold Subjects. For we may read of the King's Lands being invaded the next year, and deſtroy'd by fire and ſword by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Prince of *North-Wales*. Whereupon we find in a little time the *Pictavians* expell'd, Peace made with theſe two great diſcontented men, and the King's natural Subjects recall'd, and their Counſel yielded to by the King.

The 19th is remarkable for the King's Marriage, with the Royal Solemnity, Juſts and Tourneaments kept 8 days near *Weſtminſter*, at the Queen's Coronation. Yet *Stow* places the time a year after, as he doth alſo many other particular occurrences happening in this King's Reign. From the ſame Author we are given to underſtand, that to this Coronation reſorted ſo great a number of all Eſtates, that the City of *London* was ſcarce able to receive them. Great was the ſplendour, wherein the City appeared on this occaſion, it being adorn'd with Silks, and in the night with Lamps, Creſſets, and other lights, without number, beſides many Pageants, & ſtrange devices, which were then ſhewn. The Citizens rode to meet the King and Queen, being clothed in long garments, embroidered with Gold and Silk of divers colours, their

horſes

horſes finely trapped in array, to the number of 360. Every man bearing Gold or Silver Cups in their hands, & the King's Trumpeters before them ſounding. The 24th was ominous to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, for the Scholars abuſing *Octoboon* the Pope's Legate, who afterwards accurſed the miſdoers, and ſo puniſhed them, that the Regents & Maſters were at laſt compelled to go barefoot through *Cheapſide* to *Pauls* in *London*, there to ask forgiveneſs of him, which was granted, it ſeems, with difficulty enough. His Maſter the Pope, when croſs'd and incens'd, is wont to be ſufficiently ſtately, and backward in pardoning ſuch as diſpleaſe him, & not without much interceſſion ſometimes; why then ſhould not the Servant Ape it after ſo great an Example?

In the 23d year, for that the Mayor and Heads of the City refus'd to obey the King's Commandment, in Chuſing *Simon Fitz. Marre* Sheriff, as the King had order'd them, which they lookt upon as a derogation to their Liberties: The King ſent for them, and after words of diſpleaſure diſcharg'd the old Mayor *Will. Joynour*, newly Elected for the following year, and charg'd the Citizens to proceed to a new Election, which to content the King they did, and Chuſing *Gerard Bat*, by his means and policy obtained the King's favour, and fruſtrated the other purpoſe, who had procur'd the aforeſaid Commandment, and complain'd to the King of the Citizens for their diſobeying it. In the 25th the Citizens having Choſen *Gerard Bat* anew for the year following, & preſented him to the King according to Cuſtom, He, who the laſt year had ſo gain'd the King's favour in behalf of the City, was now ſo far out of it by means of ſome mens Informations, that he with his company was firſt diſmiſt, and put off till another time, and at laſt, for ſome offences alledged, and diſpleaſure conceived

againſt him, clearly put by; the King ſwearing a great Oath, that he ſhould not that year be Mayor, nor at any time hereafter. Whereupon the Commons, certified of the King's pleaſure, Choſe *Remond Bengley* in his ſtead. The Citizens having the year before been prevail'd upon to alter their Election, that was Preſident enough it ſeems to occaſion the like again.

The City having obtain'd great Priviledges of this King in his younger days, we find already ſome endeavouring to fruſtrate and diſappoint the effect and benefit of them. The City had appear'd with a great deal of ſucceſs, in oppoſition to the laſt King's proceedings, and therefore it's likely, ſuch as intended to attempt again for Arbitrary Power, thought the City too headſtrong eaſily to permit them to ſucceed in their deſires, unleſs they could firſt bring the Citizens a little under, by cunningly undermining their Liberties. Whereupon we find this year a ſpecious pretence taken to oblige the Commonalty, by offering to free and keep them from being oppreſſed by the Heads and Rulers of the City. How well this plauſible Plea took for a while, will be manifeſted in the ſequel of the Story. That there were great heats and animoſities in thoſe times between the City and the Court, may eaſily be obſerv'd out of *Stow*, who tells us in the 25th years *Annals*, how the Citizens were threatned, that the Walls and Bulwarks of the Tower were builded in deſpight of them, to the end that if any of them would preſume to contend for the Liberties of the City, they might there be impriſon'd. And to the intent, that many might be laid in divers Priſons, many Lodgings were there made, that no one ſhould ſpeak with another. An occaſion was alſo taken ſometime after to Fine the City 1500 Marks, for the receiving into the City a perſon baniſh'd from thence 20 years. Notwithſtanding

the

the Citizens had prov'd, that before that time the ſaid perſon had been reconcil'd and reſtor'd to the King's favour. Another device to exact Money from the *Londoners*, was the proclaiming a Mart at *Weſtminſter*, to laſt 15 days, with a Command that all Trades ſhould ceaſe in the City for that ſpace of time, which the Citizens were fain to redeem with 2000*l*. Yet they ſtill increaſt in Riches, while the King was compell'd for want to ſell his Plate and Jewels much to his loſs, which being ſold and bought at *London*, in the 33d year of his Reign, occaſioned this his expreſſion upon knowledge thereof, (as my Author relates it) *I know that if* Octavian's *Treaſure were to be ſold, the City of* London *would ſup it up; and by it thoſe ruſtical* Londoners (quoth the King) *abound in wealth, and call themſelves Barons.* Noted is the 25th year likewiſe for the firſt Chuſing of Aldermen, who then had the Rule of the City and its Wards, and were yearly chang'd as are the Sheriffs. In the 29th year *Nicholas Bat*, contrary to a former Ordinance, being Choſen Sheriff again, was diſcharg'd and puniſh'd, as being convict of Perjury. The Mayor likewiſe *Michael Tony*, Choſen anew for the following year, was depos'd and puniſh'd, after that by Depoſition of the Aldermen he was found guilty in the ſaid Crime. Whatever were the grievances and faults committed in the reſt of the Land, (ſome we read complain'd of, particularly among the Clergy) the City-Officers ſhall be ſure to be watch'd, if they were not of the ſide ſome would have them. In the 31th year *Pyers Aleyn* being Mayor, *John Voyle*, and *Nicholas Bat* Sheriffs, the Franchiſes of *London* were ſeized on St. *Bartholomews* Eve, for a Judgment pretended to be wrongfully given by the Mayor and Aldermen againſt a Widdow woman named *Margaret Vyell*, and the Rule of the City committed to *Will. Haveryll*, and *Edward* of *Weſtminſter*, till *Lady day*, when

when the Mayor and Sheriffs were again admitted to their Offices. How ready were ſome to carp at the Acts of this Honourable Society? Rather than fail of an occaſion to diminiſh the Cities Liberties, we find them here wrongfully making a pretence; for upon due Examination afterwards made, the former Judgment was found good and true. In the 32th year *Queen Hith* Wharf was Farm'd by the Commonalty of the City at 50 *l.* yearly, and committed to the Sheriffs charge. But in *Fabian*'s time the Profits were ſo diminiſhed, that it was worth but little more than 20 Marks one year with another. That ſublunary things ebb and flow, is no ſtrange thing to be wondered at, it is ſo common an obſervation. Though the Citizens this year enjoy'd their Liberties without interruption, the former pretence proving vain and frivolous, and falſly grounded, yet the King is ſaid to have been grieved and diſpleas'd with them, for that they would not at his requeſt exchange the Liberties granted aforetime to them by the King in *Middleſex*, for others to be had in other places. What theſe Liberties were on either hand, I have not found. It may be they had a ſuſpicion they might be trappan'd, & ſo be loſers by the change. They were excellent good, it ſeems, at hold-faſt, and did not like Childrens play, give and take. Though ſome body ſhould have come, and promiſ'd them in the King's Name, that they ſhould have ſuch and ſuch Priviledges in exchange, and be great gainers by the Bargain; yet how could they tell he had ſufficient Authority from His Majeſty to make ſo large a Promiſe? Where were his Credentials? I read of none produced. Therefore in my opinion they had but too great reaſon to ſuſpect to have had the Dy put upon them, ſhould they have parted with preſent Priviledges in hopes of future Graces. A Bird in the hand is commonly reputed worth two in the buſh: But when the Bird is careleſly let ſlip, and flown, who is that skilful Fowler,

Fowler, that can be ſure of catching a better, or perhaps any at all? In the 34th year *Simon Fitz Mary*, Alderman of *London*, for his diſobedience & evil Counſel given to the above-named Widdow, with other ſecret labour and matters by him intended to the City's hurt, was diſcharg'd of his Aldermanſhip, and put out of the Council of the City. It behov'd them to turn out of their Society ſuch a one, who, in contradiction to their former order, had once before procur'd the King's Command to make them break it, and had given ſuch Advice againſt them, that their Liberties were ſeized on, and their own City Officers for a time diſcarded, for no other than a pretended Crime wrongfully laid to their charge. Such falſe Friends and ſecret Enemies are moſt carefully to be watched againſt, as alwaies dangerous, too too oft deſtructive to humane Societies.

In the 36th year was granted by the King, that an yearly Allowance ſhould be made of 7 *l.* for certain Priviledges or Ground belonging to *Paul's* Church, which *Fabian* tells us continued alſo to be allowed in his days by the Barons of the Exchequer to every Sheriff, when they make their Accounts. This ſame year was alſo granted, for the Citizens more eaſe, that whereas before they us'd yearly to preſent their Mayor to the King, in whatſoever place he was in *England*, that henceforth they ſhould, for lack of the King's preſence at *Weſtminſter*, preſent the Mayor, when Choſen, to the Barons of his Exchequer, there to be ſworn and admitted, as before-times he was before the King. *Joh. Toleſon* Mayor, *Will. Durham*, *Tho. Wymborn* then Sheriffs. In the 37th year was granted, That no Citizen ſhould pay Scavage (that is, Shewage) or Toll for any Beaſts by them brought, as they before-time had. The ſwelling of *Thames* this year drowned many houſes about the water ſide, to the damage of much Merchandiſe. *Thames* is one of the beſt friends the City has, by whoſe means

their

their Riches grow and increaſe, by importing and exporting her Citizens Wares. 'Tis alſo a faſt friend even in adverſity, which the power and malice of her Enemies have never yet depriv'd her of, and yet you here find that ſhe ſometimes receives damage even from ſo good a friend. If the beſt friends may ſometimes accidentally injure us, what would our Enemies do, were their power as large as their malice? For theſe two laſt years paſt, you may here perceive the favour K. *Henry* openly ſhew'd to the City, by the beneficial Grants he made her Citizens. Yet in the 38th that Tyde is turn'd by procurement of *Rich.* Earl of *Cornwall*, the King's Brother, for diſpleaſure he bare to the City, for exchange of certain Ground to the ſame belonging: So that the King, under colour that the Mayor had not done due Execution upon the Bakers, for default in their Sizes, ſeized the Liberties of the City. The offence pretended in the 25th year, was, that the *Mayor* had received a certain Sum of Money of Bakers, Brewers, and other Victuallers, which his Predeceſſors alſo had done before him. In this 38th year here is another pretence found out. What an eaſie matter is it, for ſuch to pretend faults, who muſt not be contradicted, or at leaſt not without a great deal of caution and circumſpection?

The manner of this Seizure, according to the Author, is thus to be underſtood, That whereas the Mayor and Commonalty of the City had by the King's Grant, the City to Farm, with divers Cuſtoms and Offices, for a ſtinted aſcertained Sum, the King at this time ſet in Officers at his pleaſure, which were accountable to him for all Revenues and Profits accruing and ariſing within the City. But about the 19th of *Novemb.* the Citizens having agreed with the foreſaid Earl for 600 Marks, they were ſoon after reſtor'd unto their Liberties. Oh the powerful commanding force of Money, that can ſo often make enemies friends, and friends enemies! The

Mayor

Mayor this year, *Rich. Hardell*, being ſent for, with the Sheriffs, by the King, newly come to *London*, and lodg'd in the *Tower*, fared better in this year's Mayoralty, than he did within ſome few years after, wherein he continued Mayor. For being taxt by the King for the eſcape of one, that had ſlain a Prior related to the King, he put off the charge of this matter from himſelf to the Sheriffs, for ſo much as to them belong'd the keeping of the City-Priſons. Whereupon he returned home, and the Sheriffs, *Rob. Belyngton*, and *Ralph Aſcheweye* were detain'd for a ſpace Priſoners, and others choſen in their places; but how they got off my Author ſets not down. In the 39th year *Edw.* the King's Son's Wife was honourably received at *London* by the Citizens, and the City adorn'd with rich Cloaths for the more ſtate. Yet notwithſtanding all this Reſpect, it was not long before the King ſeiz'd their Liberties anew for certain Money, which the Q. claim'd for her right of them. So that about *Martins-tyde* they were in a manner neceſſitated to give her 400 Marks, before their Liberties were reſtor'd them, and the King's Under-Treaſurer diſcharg'd, who for the time was made *Cuſtos* or Keeper of the City. What, had ſhe no other way to recover her Money, if it was due, but the Cities Liberties muſt preſently be ſeized on? The King's Brother had got well the laſt year, by falling out with the City, and getting their Liberties ſeiz'd. Was it not then, do ye think, cunningly done of the Queen, to try the ſame trick over again? 'Twas, it ſeems, too gainful a project, to ſuffer it quietly to lye ſtill without further proſecution, before it grew too ſtale. Though the Citizens and their Franchiſes were thus carpt at by Court-Favourites, yet we find them ſtill continuing their wonted reſpect to the King and Queen, when they came to *London*, where they were honourably received this very ſame year, and ſo convey'd to *Weſtminſter*. When the Citizens had to do with the Court, and the King was

pleaſed

pleaſed to intereſt himſelf in the affair, Hiſtory tells us that they were more than once compelled to draw their purſes for Peace ſake and Reconciliation, but when they had their other fellow Subjects to deal with, they proved Matches hard enough; as particularly in their ſuit with the Abbot of *Waltham*, which was at laſt accorded in the 40th year to their own advantage.

Come we now to the 41th year, a year not lightly to be forgotten by the worthy Citizens, and ſuch as bear any reſpect to this honourable City, by reaſon of the many troubles that the Heads thereof underwent at this time, through the power and malice of ſome ill diſpoſed Perſons, who bore no Good will to this ancient foundation. Hitherto we have met with but light Skirmiſhes, a few trivial matters, in compariſon of what you ſhall here find related out of *Fabian*, to have happened in the Mayoralty of *Richard Hardell*, and Shrievalties of *Rich. Ewell* and *William Aſhwey*. *A. C.* 1257. The Relation is as followeth, almoſt word by word.

In this 41th year, and beginning of the ſame, was found in the Kings Wardrobe at *Windſor*, a Bill or Roll cloſed in green Wax, and not known from whence it ſhould come, in which was contained divers Articles againſt the Mayor and Rulers of the City, and that by them the Commonalty of the City was grievouſly taxed and wronged, which Bill was preſented at length to the King. Whereupon he ſent *John Manſel*, one of his Juſtices, unto *London*, where, on St. *Paul*'s day, by the Kings Authority, he called a Folk-moot, or Common-Hall, at *Pauls-Croſs*, there being preſent *Richard de Clare*, Earl of *Glouceſter*, and divers others of the Kings Council. Whereupon the ſaid *John Manſel* cauſed the ſaid Roll to be read before the Commonalty, and after ſhewed to the People, that the Kings pleaſure and mind was, that they ſhould be ruled with Juſtice, and that the Liberties of the City ſhould be maintained in every

point;

point; and if the King might know those Persons that so had wronged the Commonalty, they should be grievously punished to others example. That done, *John Mansel* charged the Mayor, that every Alderman in his Ward should, upon the morrow following, assemble his Wardmoots, and that all those Wardmoots should assemble in one place, and choose of themselves 36 Persons, without any Counsel or advice of any of their Aldermen, and present them before the Lords and him at the same hour the next day, in the Bishops Pallace at *Pauls*. Upon the morrow all was done according to his Command. When the said 36 Persons were presented before the said *John Mansel*, *Henry Baa*, Justices, and others, he said unto them, that they upon their Oaths should certifie all such persons as they knew guilty in the Articles before shewed to the Commonalty. Whereupon the 36 answered, that it was contrary to their Liberties to be sworn so many, for any matter of Trespass between the King and any of his Citizens. Wherefore they required a sparing; with which answer *John Mansel* being discontented, warned them to appear before the Kings Council at *Guild-hall* upon the morrow following, where they kept their day. Thither came the said Justices, *John Mansell* and *Hen. Baa*, Sir *Hen. Wengham*, Chancellour of *England*, *Philip Lovel*, Under treasurer, and divers others of the Kings Council. Then the said *John Mansell* exhorted the said Persons to be sworn by many means, as he the other day had done; but all was in vain: For they excused themselves, that it was contrary to their Oath and Liberty of their City. Wherefore the Kings Council departed from the Hall in part discontented, and shewed to the King the said Citizens demeanour. Upon *Candlemas* Eve the Mayor being warned that the King would come to *Westminster*, he, with the more part of the Aldermen, rode to *Knightsbridge*, and tarried there to salute the King,

King, and know his further pleaſure. But when the King came near that place, and heard of their being there, he ſent to them an Eſquire of the Houſhold, and charged them that they ſhould not preſume to come into his ſight; with which meſſage they being greatly diſcomforted, returned home to the City. Afterwards in the Octaves of the Purification, *Michael Tony* and *Adam Baſynge* returned from Court, who before were ſent by the Mayor to ſuch Friends as they had in the Court, to know the cauſe of the Kings high diſpleaſure, and brought word back, that the King was well minded towards the City, but he was in full purpoſe to have ſuch perſons chaſtized, that had oppreſſed the Commonalty of the ſame. Upon the morrow following came unto the *Guild Hall John Manſell*, with others of the Kings Council, who, to the People there aſſembled, ſhewed many fair and pleaſant words. Amongſt which he declared, that the Kings Mind and Will was, to correct all ſuch perſons, as had oppreſſed the Commonalty of that his deareſt beloved City, and asked of the Commons whether they would be agreeable to the ſame. The which, incontinently, many ſuch as knew little what the matter meant, cried without diſcretion, *Yea, Yea, Yea*, nothing regarding the Liberty of the City. After the grant thus had of the Commons, the ſaid *Joh. Manſell* diſcharged the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Chamberlain of their Offices, and delivered the Cuſtody thereof unto the Conſtable of the Tower, and put in the room of the Sheriffs *Michael Tony*, and *John Audrian*. And over that all Rolls or Tolls and Tallages, before made, were delivered unto the ſaid *John Manſel*, which he there ſealed and redelivered to the Chamberlain. When the Commons had beheld all this buſineſs, they returned unto their Houſes all confuſed.

Do we wonder at the Commons readineſs in this affair, that they ſhould formerly have been ſuch briſk aſſertors

of

of their Liberties, ſhould now be the occaſional cauſe of bringing them into danger? We may ſuppoſe that this was no proper Common-Hall, but rather called by an order from Court, and filled with the populace; for in thoſe days I do not find there was any expreſs Act made by King, Lords and Commons, in being, to forbid the Council Table from intermeddling in Civil Cauſes, and determining of the Subjects Liberties, or ſo to regulate its Juriſdiction, Power, and Authority, as to leave ſuch matters to be tried and determined in the ordinary Courts of Juſtice, and by the ordinary courſe of Law. Or elſe we conclude the Reſtriction of the Common-Hall to the Livery-Men was not then in uſe; ſo that the Rabble being intermixt, it might be no hard matter to get a cry raiſed by ſome of them in favour of the proceedings then on foot. The Mobile being as liable to be wrought upon by fear, or fair promiſes, as the great and rich to be corrupted by the hopes of Honours and Preferments, and the favour of more potent Grandees; while as the middle ſort of People, like the golden mean between two Extreams, are not generally ſo capable of being drawn aſide after the lure, being too many to be brib'd, and not few enough to be frighted; not ſo high and wealthy as to aſpire after greater Grandeur, nor ſo low, mean and deſpicable, as to be impoſed upon by the empty names of Greatneſs and Honour without Virtue, ſprung up at firſt from Vice, and nouriſhed by and amidſt repeated Debaucheries.

This matter thus ordered, *John Manſell*, with divers of the Kings Council, kept their Courts daily (the *Sundays* except) till the 1ſt *Sunday* of *Lent*, which that year was *Jan.* 25. calling before him 12 Wards of the City; out of every of which Wards were taken 3 men, ſo that 36 men were impannelled, and ſworn, to enquire of the aforeſaid Articles, and what Perſons of the City had offended in them. This Court being thus kept and

holden at *Guild-Hall*, no man was called to anſwer, nor no queſtion put to any Perſon by the ſaid Inqueſt, or any other. Upon the foreſaid 1ſt *Sunday* of *Lent*, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, with the forementioned Inqueſt, and 4 men of every Ward were charged to appear at *Weſtminſter* before the King, at which appearance they were countermanded till the next morning. At which ſeaſon coming into the Kings Exchequer, they found ſitting there the Earls of *Gloceſter* and *Warwick*, *Joh. Manſell*, *Hen. Baa*, Juſtices, the Conſtable of the Tower, the *Cuſtos* of the City, and divers others of the Kings Council. Then was called by name *Ralph (Richard) Hardell*, that year Mayor, *Nicholas Batts*, *Nicholas Fiz Joſne*, *Mathew Bockerel*, *John Toleſham*, and *John le Minoure*, Aldermen. Then *John Manſell* ſaid, that the King by his Laws and Inquiſition of the Citizens, had found them culpable, that they had wronged and hurt the Commonalty of his City by divers means, as by the ſaid Inquiſition appeared, and forthwith cauſed it to be read before them. When the more part thereof was read, he ſaid unto them, Thus may you ſee that the Commonalty of the City hath been by you grievouſly oppreſſed, and by your means and Counſel the Commonwealth of the ſame deſtroyed, as by altering of the Tolls, and other good ancient Cuſtoms, turning them to your ſingular advantage and lucre. All which matters the ſaid *Ralph* (*Richard*) and his Company denied, and that the Commons were not grieved or hurt by them, or any of them, by any ſuch means, and offered to be juſtified and judged by the Law and Cuſtoms of the City. Then *Henry Baa*, Juſtice, asked of them, whether they would abide the adventure of the Inquiry that they had heard read before, or elſe ſtand upon the ſaying of the other Wards that yet had not been ſworn, but they kept to their firſt Anſwer. Then *John Manſell* asked of the Mayor, what was their Law and Cuſtom. The Mayor anſwered and

ſaid,

ſaid, that for treſpaſs of a Citizen done againſt the King, he ſhould defend himſelf by 12 Citizens, for Murder or ſlaying of a man, by 30 Citizens, and for treſpaſs againſt a ſtranger by the Oath of ſix and himſelf. Then after many reaſons made by the ſaid *John Manſell*, and alſo by the Mayor and Aldermen, day was given them to appear the morrow before the King and his Councel.

Upon the day following, the King, with many of his Lords ſitting in the Exchequer, the aforeſaid Inquiſition was read. That done, the Mayor and Aldermen were called in by name, and two Aldermen more, which before were not called, *viz. Arnold Thedmare*, and *Henry Waldmode*. When *Ralph (Richard) Hardell* had heard the King ſpeak in the matter, he took ſuch fear, that he and *Nicholas Batt*, without further Anſwer, put themſelves in the King's grace, ſaved to them their Liberties and Franchiſes of the City. But the other ſix beſought the King of his wiſdom, that they might be judged after the Laws and Cuſtoms of the City. Then was laid to their charge, that over many wrongs by them done to the King and the Commonalty of the City, they had alter'd the King's Beam, and order'd it to the advantage of themſelves, and other rich men of the City. Whereupon the Parties anſwered and ſaid, *That the alteration of the Beam was not done by them only, but by the advice and conſent of* 500 *of the beſt of the City.* For where before-time the Weigher uſed to lean his Draught toward the Merchandiſe, ſo that the buyer had by that means 10 or 12 pounds in a draught to his advantage, and the ſeller ſo much diſadvantage; now for indifferency and equality of both perſons, it was ordain'd that the Beam ſhould ſtand upright, the cleft thereof inclining to neither party, as in weighing of Gold and Silver, and the buyer to have allowed of the ſeller, for all things four pounds only in every draught. After theſe Reaſons, and others by them made, the

King commanded that upon the morning following, a Folk-moot ſhould be called at *Paul's* Croſs, and ſo that Court was diſſolved, and the Mayor and the others returned to *London*.

Upon the morrow the Folk-moot being at *Paul's* Croſs Aſſembled, theſe ſix Aldermen (hearing the murmuring of the common people, and knowing that the Aldermen, or Worſhipful of the City ſhould have little or no ſaying in this matter, and fearing their Cauſe, they went into a Canon's houſe of St. *Paul's*, where at that time *John Manſell* and others ſent from the King, tarryed the Aſſembling of the People, and ſhewed them, that they intended not any longer to plead with the K. but were contented to put themſelves fully in the King's grace and mercy, ſaving alwaies to themſelves and all other Citizens their Liberty and Franchiſe of this City. After which Agreement *John Manſell* with the others, came into the Court of Folk-moot, whereunto the people was rehearſed a fair and pleaſant Tale, promiſing to them, that their Liberties ſhould be wholly and inviolably preſerved by the King, with many other things, to the great comfort of the common people. And laſtly, it was asked of them, whether the Law and Cuſtom were ſuch as is above rehearſed, or no; whereunto, like undiſcreet and unlearned people, they anſwered, and cryed, *Nay, nay, nay*, notwithſtanding that the ſaid Law and Cuſtom, had before-time been uſed time out of mind. To this was neither Mayor nor Aldermen, nor other of the great of the City, that might impugn or make any reaſon for upholding their antient Laws or Cuſtoms. And no wonder (continues my Author *Fabian*) though the King were thus heady or grievous to the City; for by ſuch evil diſpoſed and malicious people, as he had about him, the Land was ill ruled, and much miſchief was uſed, whereof enſued much ſorrow after. Then *John Manſell* called the Mayor and Aldermen before him, and charged them to be at

Weſt-

Weſtminſter the morrow following, to give attendance upon the King.

Upon the morrow the Mayor and Aldermen tarrying the King's coming in the great Hall at *Weſtminſter*, the King came into St. *Stephen*'s Chappel, where for a ſeaſon he had a Council with his Lords, & after went into the Exchequer-Chamber, and there ſate him down and his Lords about him. Anon after the Mayor and Aldermen were called into the ſaid Chamber, and ſoon after called by name, and commanded to ſtand near the Bar. Then *Henry Baa* Juſtice, ſaid unto the Mayor and 7 Aldermen, *That for ſo much as by form of the King's Laws, they were found culpable in certain Articles, touching tranſgreſſion againſt the King, therefore the Court awarded, that they ſhould make fine and ranſom after the diſcretion of the ſaid Court.* But for that they had put themſelves in the King's grace and mercy, the King hath commanded the Fine to be put in reſpite, that ye be not pained ſo grievouſly, as ye have deſerved. After which Judgment given, they kneeled down, and then the Mayor, with weeping Tears, thanked the King for the bounty and goodneſs, and beſought him to be a good and gracious Lord to the City, and unto them as his faithful Subjects: Whereunto the King made no Anſwer, but roſe ſtraight up, and ſo went his way, leaving them there. Anon as the King was departed, they were all arreſted and kept there till they had found Surety, and every Alderman of them diſcharg'd of his Ward and Office, that they had within the City. But ſhortly after they put in Sureties, and ſo returned heavily to *London*. Shortly after was *William Fitz Richard* by the K. Commandment made Mayor, & *Thomas Fitz Thomas* and *William Grappyſgate* Sheriffs.

After this, day by day the Chamberlain was call'd to Account before *John Manſell* of all ſuch Tolls, as were gathered in the time of the Mayoralty of *John Toleſham*, and *Ralph* (*Richard*) *Hardell*, there being preſent to hear

the ſaid Account divers of the Commonalty of the City, but none of the Heads. By which Account no default might be laid to any of the forenamed perſons convict before the King. By reaſon whereof divers of them were admitted to the King's favour ſhortly after, and reſtor'd to their Offices again, but not without paying of money, whereof the certainty is not known, ſaith my Author.

What a broil was here? What endeavours us'd to find faults, to ſet the King at difference with his Loyal Citizens, and keep them from Reconciliation? A Bedroll of Crimes and Offences deviſed, made and formed, and none to own it, leſt they themſelves ſhould at laſt be puniſh'd for thoſe wrong Accuſations, which they had laid to other mens charges, and could not well prove. What was this but to make diviſions between the Commons and their Head Rulers? To pretend to oblige the one, and depreſs the other? Divide and Reign was a Maxim put in uſe before ever *Machiavel* was in being. What pray now was all this for? Was it not to weaken the City's Power? To make the Rich appear Offenders, and then ſeem to lay obligations upon them, by pardoning what they were never really and deſignedly guilty of? Or elſe to wreſt Money out of their hands, and yet perſuade people, that they were favourably dealt with? You may here ſee their actions were in a manner wire-drawn to be made offences, and their Accounts ſearcht, to pick out ſomewhat to lay to their charge. And yet how viſibly were all the tricks and devices of ill men fruſtrated and diſappointed the very ſame way, whereby they thought to have confirm'd and made good their malicious Deſigns; when, after all their ſearches, they were in a ſort compell'd to approve the others faultleſs, wholly doubtleſs againſt their minds, wills, purpoſes, and intentions? How hard a matter had it been for the accuſed clearly to have defeated ill mens ſuggeſtions, had

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not they themſelves pav'd them the way, by ſearching into their accounts, where it ſeems no faults were to be found to make good their accuſations? Let thoſe tranſactions be brought into open Court, which before were wont to be done privately, and then all the preſent Auditors are made Judges of the reaſonableneſs of the proceedings. Here were large imputations, and yet the accuſed ſuffered to go at freedom, and not clapt up, till they were frightened into ſubmiſſion. What! Could they get none to ſwear roundly againſt them? Never an outlandiſh Evidence, for love nor mony, for fear, favour, nor affection, & then clap them up in Priſon, not letting them ſee the faces of their Accuſers? Why did not they ſearch their houſes, ſeize upon their Trunks and Boxes, and ſo rake into their private Writings, to ferret out ſome Crimes out of them; or elſe, in defect thereof, privily foiſt in ſomething criminal and blameworthy, and afterwards openly produce it, and with full cry and loud exclamations, impoſe the belief thereof on their credulous Partizans, as if really found upon them? We need not ſtay for the revolution of *Plato*'s year, expecting former Tranſactions to be acted over again. Are any of us ſuch ſtrangers in *Jeruſalem*, as not to know the things which have come to paſs there in the latter days?

As the Heads of the City in this *Richard Hardell*'s Mayoralty had their ſhare of troubles and afflictions, as hath been related above, ſo the Commons were not without their care likewiſe: For Wheat is ſaid this year to have been ſo ſcarce, that it was ſold at *London* at 24 *s.* a Quarter. Scarcity of Corn in thoſe days made this a conſiderable ſumm. Dearer we are told it would have been, had not ſome been brought out of another Country which made People flock to the City, becauſe 'twas cheaper there than in many Shires of *England*.

This is the year wherein the K. kept his high Court of Parliament at *Oxford*, which of ſome Writers is named

... ad Parliament; becauſe of many Acts there made for Reformation of the State, the proſecution of which prov'd in event the death and deſtruction of many Noble Men, by means of that famed ſtrife then begun, and called at this day the Barons War. True, the accidental Conſequences proved fatal to many: But if unfortunate broils give to any Laws the denomination of evil, I know not but in time ſome may grow ſo preſumptuouſly bold, as upon the like account prophanely to brand even the Chriſtian Religion, which we have been aſſured at firſt from the divine Oracles, ſhould prove the occaſion of much ſtrife in the world, and the Experiences of theſe latter times confirm it plain enough to our Underſtandings. Whether the forementioned Parliament juſtly and really deſerves the opprobrious Title, that ſome have given it, I ſhall very willingly ſubmit to the Judgment of any experienc'd Reader, who hath throughly peruſed, weighed, and conſidered the Equity, Juſtice, and reaſonableneſs of the *Engliſh* Liberties and Priviledges, contained in the grand Charter, ſealed and given to the Nation by K. *John*, Father to this *Hen.* 3d, which was confirmed in this very ſame *Oxford* Parliament, according to *Matthew Paris*, as the chief thing then deſired and inſiſted on by the Nobles, and whereon were likewiſe grounded the other Acts and Ordinances then, and there, made by the King and his Lords, For that the King, his Brethren, the Noblemen and Barons, took their Oaths to ſee the ſame obſerved, I appeal to *Stow*'s Annals for proof.

That theſe Acts might be kept firm and ſtable, we read of 12 Peers then choſen, to whom Authority was given, to correct all ſuch as offended in breaking of theſe Ordinances and others, by the ſaid Peers to be deviſed and ordered, touching and concerning the ſame matter and purpoſe. It was not long after the end of this Parliament, before ſtrife and variance began to kindle be-

tween

tween the King and the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, by reaſon of ſuch Officers as the Earls had removed, and put others in their room. Amongſt which *John Manſell* (of whom enough is mentioned above) was diſcharged of his Office, and Sir *Hugh Bygot* admitted for him. Upon occaſion of this difference beginning to ariſe between the King and his Barons, we meet with an eminent Inſtance of the City's Power and eſteem, for when the Peers heard of the murmur at Court, fearing that the King would be adviſed to alter his Promiſe, to make their party the ſtronger, they are ſaid to have come about *Mandlintide* to the *Guild-Hall* at *London*, where the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City were aſſembled, to whom they ſhewed an Inſtrument or Writing, (at which hung many Labels with Seals, as the King's Seal, *Edward* his Son's Seal, with many others of the Nobles of the Land,) wherein were contained the Articles ordained and made at *Oxford*, willing (as ſaith the Book) the Mayor and Aldermen, (conſidering the ſaid Acts were made to the Honour of God, Fidelity to the King, and profit of the Realm,) that they would alſo in upholding of the ſame ſet their common Seal of the City thereto. After this Requeſt the Mayor and Citizens at firſt indeed deſired to be excuſed, till they knew the Kings Pleaſure; but no excuſe at that time being to be granted, at laſt, by the labour of the Lords, and ſuch ſolicitors as they had within the City, the common Seal was put to the forementiontioned Writing, and the Mayor, with divers of the City, ſworn to maintain the ſame, their Allegiance ſaved to the King, with preſervation of their Liberties and Franchiſes.

After this obtain'd we find the 12 Peers aſſembling day by day, (as if now they feared no colours, the City being on their ſide, and valued no ones Threats,) keeping their Councils and Courts for the Reformation of old grievances, removing from the King divers of his Menial

Menial Servants, and ſetting others in their places; and moreover a Proclamation comes forth, that none of the Kings Takers ſhould take any thing within the City without the owners will, (except a ſmall cuſtomary matter therein excepted) upon which what the Kings Officers took, was ſtraight paid for within the City and Liberty of the ſame, and ſo continued to be for a while. Can any one then deſire a better proof of the City's repute in thoſe days? Yet within few years following we ſhall meet with more Inſtances of her power in the Hiſtory. In the 42d year Sir *Hugh Bygot*, with *Roger Turkelay*, and others, kept his Court at St. *Saviours*, and held there the *Itinerary* Pleas, to the ſore puniſhment of many convicted offending Officers. Though this *Hugh Bygot* was put in by the Peers to reform (as may be ſuppoſed) old grievances, yet power ſeems to have made him alſo go aſtray, or elſe corruption, or to collogue with another party. Whereof the City in General was like to have taſted deeply, could he have had his Will, ſome of the particular Citizens ſcaped him not; for he ſummoned the Citizens to the aforeſaid Court, for Tolls taken on the further ſide of the Water: And though it was anſwered, that they were taken lawfully, and they were ready to prove it in places and Court convenient within the Precinct of their Liberty. Yet notwithſtanding he charged upon Inqueſt 12 Knights of *Surry* to enquire thereof, who acquitted the Citizens, and ſhewed that the ſaid Toll belonged to them of Right. Afterwards coming to *Guild-Hall*, he kept his Court and Pleas there, (according to my Author) without all order of Law, and contrary to the Liberties of the City, inflicting new puniſhments on the Bakers, and ordered many things at his Will.

This year the Citizens had opportunity of ſhewing their Reſpect to the Kings Brother, *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, coming over from beyond Sea (where he had been

been dealing in the affairs of the Empire) unto *London*, where he was joyfully received, the City being richly hang'd with Silk and Arras. In the 43d year *John Gysours* being Mayor, and *John Adrian*, and *Robert Cornhill* Sheriffs, *Fryday* after *Simon* and *Jude's* day we hear of the reading in the Parliament kept at *Weſtminſter*, in preſence of all the Lords and Commonalty, at ſundry times, of all the Acts and Ordinances made at *Oxford*, with other Articles added by the Peers. After which reading we find all thoſe very ſolemnly accurſed, that attempted in word or deed to break the ſaid Acts, or any of them.

The Form of the Curſe which was moſt ſolemnly denounced againſt the Violaters and Infringers of *Magna Charta*, is to be ſeen in *Matthew* of *Paris*; and this here intimated was in probability much like that, which I find in a modern Author thus Engliſhed.

BY *the Authority of God Omnipotent, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, and of the glorious Mother of God the Virgin* Mary, *and of the bleſſed Apoſtles* Peter *and* Paul, *and of all other Apoſtles, and of the holy Martyr and Archbiſhop* Thomas, *and of all the Martyrs, and of the bleſſed* Edward, *King of* England, *and of all Confeſſors and Virgins, and of all the Saints of God: We excommunicate, and Anathematize, and ſequeſter from our holy Mother the Church, all thoſe which henceforth knowingly and maliciouſly ſhall deprive or ſpoil the Church of her right; and all thoſe that ſhall by any Art or Wit raſhly violate, diminiſh or change, ſecretly or openly, in deed, word or Counſel, by croſſing in part or in whole, thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Liberties or ancient approved Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, eſpecially the Liberties and free Cuſtoms which are contained in the Charters of the Common Liberties of* England, *and the Forreſts granted by our Lord the King to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prelates, Earls, Barons, Knights and Freeholders. And all thoſe who have publiſhed, or being*

ing publiſhed have obſerved any Statutes, Ordinances or thing againſt them, or any thing therein contained, or which have brought in any Cuſtoms to the contrary, or obſerved them being brought in, and all Writers of ſuch Ordinances, or Councils, or Executioners, and all ſuch as ſhall preſume to judge according to ſuch Ordinances: All and every ſuch Perſons as are, or at any time ſhall be, knowingly guilty of any ſuch matters ſhall, ipſo facto, *incur this Sentence: & ſuch as are ignorantly guilty ſhall incur the ſame if being admoniſhed, they within 15 days after amend not. For everlaſting memory whereof we hereunto put our Seals.*

Thus far the words of the Curſe: Nor was the manner of pronouncing leſs ſolemn in open Parliament. The King with all the chief Nobility of the Realm in their Robes, and the Biſhops in their Veſtments, with burning Tapers in their Hands, ſtanding to hear this curſe read, and immediately as ſoon as the Charters and Curſe were read, and ſigned, all throwing down their Tapers, extinguiſhed, and ſmoaking, cry out, *So let all them who incur this Sentence, and go againſt this Curſe, be extinct, and have no better ſavour than theſe Snuffs*: And then the King, having ſtood all this while with his hand upon his Breaſt, ſaid with a loud voice, *So God me help, I will obſerve all theſe things ſincerely and faithfully, as I am a man, as I am a Chriſtian, as I am a Knight, and as I am a King crowned and anointed.*

But what could any one think theſe ſo ſolemn Curſes would avail, without a ſuitable Power and ſtrength of Arms to make them good *per* force? When as it is well known, that there lived in thoſe days a Clergy-man at *Rome*, who pretended to diſpenſe even with the Almighty's Laws, whoſe Power was at that time openly profeſſed to be believed ſufficient by the generality of *Europe*, to abſolve all manner of Oaths and Covenants, and from whom Diſpenſations more than a good many might be had for Money. The confirmation of the fore-

mentioned

mentioned Acts we may believe well paid for by the Parliament: For we read of a Tax called Scutage, that is, 40 *s.* of every Knights Fee through *England*, then granted to the King, which extended to a large ſumm of Money, *viz.* Six ſcore Thouſand Pounds or more. For upon occaſion of this large Tax, I find the number of the Knights Fees in *England*, at thoſe days in poſſeſſion of Spirituality and Temporalty, ſumm'd up by my Author to 60000 *l.* and above. Upon ſuppoſition that the Clergy paid nothing, it is ſaid that the Tax would not have amounted over the ſumm of 64000 *l.* whereby we may gueſs what a deal of the Land, even almoſt one half, was then belonging to the Clergy. Devotion (as the times went then) brought forth Riches, and the Daughter ſince devoured the Mother. *Nov.* the 6th we are told the King came to St. *Pauls*, and commanding a Folk-moot to be aſſembled, according to the former Ordinances made, asked licenſe of the Commonalty of the City to paſs the Sea, and promiſed there in preſence of a great multitude of People, that he would be a good and gracious Lord unto the City by the mouth of Sir *Hugh Bygot*, Chief-Juſtice, and to maintain their Liberties unhurt; whereupon the People for joy made an exceeding ſhout. Obſerve here the turn of things, the Courtier ſeems to have fought, not long time ſince to oppreſs the Head Rulers of the City, by a Folk-moot of the Commons: Now the King to prevent the effect of ill mens advice, hath bound himſelf to ask their leave, before he goes out of the Land for a ſeaſon. E're while the Folk-moot or Common-Hall was abuſed to ſerve for a property, to deſtroy their own Cities Liberties. Now the conſervation of the whole Nations welfare is put into their hands. What greater Evidence can be demanded to prove this Honourable Cities Power and Influence, than to find the Citizens entruſted by King, Lords and Commons, with ſo high a charge?

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We may presume the Reason of entrusting the Commons of the City with so large a Grant, as the King could not pass the Sea without License first obtain'd of them, was to prevent the Evil and Mischief, that might happen to the Land by advice of ill Counsellors, who might be persuading the King at every turn to go out of the Realm, he having also Lands beyond the Sea, that they might have the better opportunity to work out their own ends, though to the Peoples oppression, in his absence. What trouble, affliction and oppression the land suffered, under this Kings Uncle *Richard* the first's Imprisonment, at the Hands of the Kings Officers, who rak'd and pill'd what they could of Clergy and Laity, on pretence of raising Money for the Kings Redemption, I had rather send the Reader back to *pag.* to satisfie himself, where I have related somwhat of the charge of the Kings Ransom, than stay to repeat it over again. A fuller description the curious may meet with in *Neubrigensis, l. 4. cap.* 35. treating particularly thereof. Some I believe may have observed in these unsettled times, that they have fared much better, and more easily avoided the malitious attempts of their Fellow Subjects, who have liv'd as it were in the Sunshine of the Kings presence, than such, who being many scores, it may be Hundreds of Miles distant, have liv'd (so to phrase it) in the shadow.

I know not but the presence of the head Governour is as needful always in his Land, as is the General in his Army. Certain enough it is by the History, that while this King *Henry* was thus absent from his Kingdom, and busied other ways in *France*, that Dissention arose in *England*, between the Kings Son *Edward*, and the Earl of *Glouceſter*, which might have immediately brought no small trouble to the Land, had not there been great endeavours used to prevent it, wherein this Honourable City shew'd much of her care and vigilance. What

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the occaſion of this difference was I have not yet read, but to appeaſe it I find a Counſel of the Lords called at *Weſtminſter* (*Fabian* gives it likewiſe the Title of a Parliament) which continued Three weeks and more. To this Council came the Lords with great companies, particularly the two conteſting Parties, intending it ſeems to have lodg'd within the City. So deſirous, ſo ambitious of pretending to *London*'s favour, that ſuch ſeem to have thought the bare lodging therein might have added to their ſtrength. But upon the Mayors conſulting with ſuch, as the King had left Rulers in his Abſence, and through the advice of the King's Brother, it was concluded that neither the ſaid *Edward*, nor the ſaid Earl ſhould come into the City there to lodge, nor any that held upon either ſide. And further it was provided, that all within the City, of the Age of 15 years, and above, ſhould be in Arms, to watch and keep the City day and night, and that the Gates ſhould be kept ſhut by day, and certain men in Arms keep every Gate of the City. For the further ſafeguard of the City, and ſurer keeping of the Peace therein, the aforementioned Rulers came into *London*, and there lodged with their Companies, and ſuch other perſons as they aſſigned to ſtrengthen the City, if need required. Do people deſire mathematical Demonſtration? Look here and ſee, what care's taken to keep the City ſafe, and harmleſs, and in Peace, as if then the Land muſt needs be in quiet too: Preſerve the City and its juſt Liberties, and then the Nations Quietneſs, Peace, and Safeguard is ſtrongly ſecured. Behold here the Eyes of the Nation fix'd upon the City of *London*, and her Actions, and where's the party that dare ſtrike, while ſhe Guards keeps and preſerves the Kings Peace, while he is pleaſed to buſie himſelf in foreign Countries? Such as will not believe, but what they ſee, and ſo know, let them here credit their own Eyes, if they be not Popiſh

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Transubstantiators, or shut them to keep the light out. After the King was returned to *London* from beyond the Sea, by his order, many of their lodgings were altered, direction was taken between the aforesaid contesting Parties, and a new Assembly of Parliament assigned.

Anno 44. *William Fitz Richard* being Mayor, *Adam Browning*, *Richard Coventre*, Sheriffs, after *Candlemas* by the Kings Command, a Folk-Moot was called at *Pauls-Cross*, whither he came in person, with his Brother *Richard*, King of the *Romans*, and many other Nobles, and commanded the Mayor, that every stripling of 12 Years and above, should before his Aldermen be sworn the day following, to be true to the King, and his Heirs, Kings of *England*, and that the Gates of the City should be kept with armed Men, as before was determined. Not long after this we read of more suspicions of a breach between the King and his Barons, which in few years broke out into an open War.

What did all this swearing then avail? Those among the Children of men, who look abroad into the world & take notice of the common course of the Generality of the living, or are much conversant with the Monuments of the dead may find it no very difficult matter to observe, that let men take never so many Oaths, make never so many Covenants, Promises, and Compacts, that if they once come to have Apprehensions, that those, to whom they have sworn themselves, endeavour to make use of these religious Ties, and Obligations, designed at first for mutual preservation, to encroach upon their Liberties, deprive them of their Priviledges, their Properties, their Birth-rights, to the enslaving of them and their whole Posterity, all former Subscriptions, Oaths, Vows, Promises, Pacts and Covenants, will scarce avail ought with the most. But if Experience should chance to

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legitimate their doubts and Fears by the others actual endeavours in the open face of the World, it is rarely seen, but that, notwithstanding past transactions, they will make the greatest opposition, they can, against the others arbitrary pretences: And so all former religious Bonds are snapt asunder like Tow burnt by the Fire. They who imposed Oaths for such ill intents, might have considered, if they pleased, that many in such cases would not have scrupled at all to have broke them; Or if any of the more devout had been a little nicer, they could not doubtless be ignorant in those days, what Remedies might have been bought for Money out of the Popes publick Store-house, if other common ways of Evasion would not have pass'd currant with them. How many of that nature have passed up and down in the World, it may not be unworthy of our consideration sometimes to revolve in our minds, if it be a thing feasible to bring them within that compass. True indeed, (quoth the subtile Sophister) I have sworn Allegiance, but a latter lesser Tie is invalid, when a greater Obligation lies upon me. True, an Oath lies upon me; but here's my Liberty, Life and Religion lying all at stake. I was born free, what can dispense with me to deprive me of my Birthright? Life is sweet, Self-preservation is near and dear to me, by the Instinct of Nature. 'Tis natural to created Beings to defend their Lives against such as would destroy them: what then can oblige me to suffer my Life violently to be taken away by anothers injury, whenas I dare not deprive my self thereof by my own Endeavours, unless I will run into so foul an Offence, so unnatural a Fact, as to proclaim my self to the World a Self-Murtherer, and so force my Soul to fly out of my Body, before I know 'tis my Creator's Will she should? My Religion is to obey God above, and before Man; my Soul is his that gave it me, and

where's the Obligation that can impower me justly to give away that which is not my own to bestow? Must my Religion, which I believe is according to the Law of the Almighty, stand or fall at another mans pleasure? Must I take the matter, manner, and height of my Devotions from the imperious dictates of another's Will, and that too upon the account of my Oath? Must I destroy my Religion in effect, or else I cannot keep it in shew? Besides, know ye not that my Oath was conditional? Mutual Bonds make mutual Obligations. Service was vow'd, where Protection was promised and expected. Can any but an Idiot be supposed to swear away himself to be destroyed instead of being defended? Must I still pay Obedience upon account of former Covenants, where I cannot get due Protection, and have but little encouragement to expect it, though it was at first promised, since that now thence I fear utter ruine, and infallible destruction instead thereof? With such Inventions some may chance to be full, and it may be to make them seem more authentick, they can produce them under the Printer's Hand. 'Tis in Print, an Argument which may sometimes weigh much with such inconsiderate, inobserving Persons, who consider not how easie, how usual a thing it is to print Lies, as well as tell them. Nay, to make the deeper impression, they may happen to proceed so far, as to shew us the common custom and practice of many Kings and Princes, and endeavour to qualifie their own, by repeated Instances and Examples of the publick Conscience, if there be any such thing in nature, and it be not only one of the fanciful Notions much in vogue, within these few years, among some high-flown *English* Clergy men, who ambitiously desir'd to glory in the Title (forsooth) of Rational Divines. Hereto some may possibly further add instances out of other Countries, where Towns and Cities, standing in the borders of Kingdoms and Principalities,

cipalities, are often won and loſt, and ſo paſs to and fro from one ſtate to another: And pertly ask us, what we think in our Conſciences of all thoſe, who this year took Oaths of Allegiance to one Prince, and the next year, being ſubdued by another, were made ſwear themſelves his Subjects, and yet, upon a new Recovery or Treaty of Peace, being return'd to their firſt Soveraign, could as willingly as ever ſwear over again their firſt Oath: Are ſuch perjur'd or no? A hard caſe, being under ſuch ſtrait inconveniences. They fought, they reſiſted, they oppoſed the Conqueror as long as they could, and when neither they could defend themſelves any longer, nor was their Prince there with power to defend them, they yielded and ſubmitted to the Almighty's Decree, and their own hard irreſiſtible Fate. Such it may be, and much more might a man of a nimble Wit urge upon the Gainſayer. But how many of theſe may fully ſatisfie a Conſcience very tender and ſcrupulous, ſeems not to me ſo eaſily reſolvable.

If theſe ſuffice not your thinking Minds, your wandring roving Thoughts, take a turn or two in the *Jeſuits School*, and ranſack the ſecret receſſes and retirements thereof, it's an hundred to one, but you will there meet with Jeſuitical diſſimulation, doubtful equivocation, mental reſervation, and Papal diſpenſation, with much of the like traſh.

To theſe let be added that pretty new device, the Popiſh Doctrine of probability. So that when one at firſt dubiouſly propounds an unuſual, uncouth Opinion, another comes after him, and lays it down more confidently, upon ſuppoſition that the firſt broacher had a good Reaſon in his view, although he has little or none; then in comes a third with a more brazen fac'd boldneſs, and poſitively affirms it good Doctrine, becauſe the others forſooth, in his Opinion learned men, muſt be ſuppoſed not to have wanted Reaſon for what they

ſaid, and then 'tis no matter whether he can ſee a glimpſe of it or no, who can with ſo much facility pin his Faith upon another mans ſleeve. How far this novel Doctrine may go, if fruitfully improv'd, to make the ſhadow of Religion fit for mens corrupt deſires; (ſince that they refuſe ſo many of them to be brought up to the truth of Religion) any one may eaſily conſider, who has any conſideration at all in him.

But whoſoever has ſo little Soul in him, as not to endure the Solitary Company of his own Thoughts, and is ſo enſlaved to ſenſe, as not to like any other Argument, let him apyly himſelf to the Book call'd, *Les Provinciales*, or *The Myſtery of Jeſuitiſm*, written at firſt by a Papiſt, of the Doctrines of ſome Modern, eſpecially Jeſuitical Caſuiſts, and its truth confirm'd by the reiterated Complaints of the French Church. In that Book the *Engliſh* Reader may ſee how fruitful a man of a corrupt wit (without Truth, Honeſty, Religion, or Conſcience,) may be in broaching novel Opinions, and raiſing ſtrange Doctrines upon the new invented Foundation of Probability. What a new form of manners this new ſort of Morality produces, in what kind of Practices theſe Principles end, the Deportment of the late Jeſuits at *Tyburn*, hath already ſhewn how far ſuch debauched Principles have already went in debauching the manners of the Age; and how far further by degrees, they may bring us in time toward Popery and Slavery, I humbly offer to the conſideration of the thinking Men about Town.

If the Society would be pleaſed to accept the Petition of an Engliſh Proteſtant, no Turk, Jew, nor Heathen, (as ſome would have us think the word might import) but Chriſtian, it ſhould be requeſted, that ſince this old World is ſo already filled with new Doctrines of theirs and ſuitable Practices, they would tranſport the reſt of their Inventions to the new World

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in the Moon, if they can find the place and the paſſage. I am pretty well aſſured, that World, if any be, is ſo much eſtranged as yet to the Jeſuits and their Doctrines by reaſon of the diſtance, that there would be little room, and leſs likelyhood for their reception, unleſs they beforehand tranſmit thither ſome of their new Divinity, to make way for gaining them ſome Renegado Proſelites, weary of a good old way, and deſirous of a new one, be it what it will. Why may not the Jeſuits be as fruitful in finding out new Worlds, as making new Morals, new Saints, new Merits? What if I had alſo added, a new way of Atonement, a new Saviour, new Goſpel? When you walk along through St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard, or by any other noted Bookſellers Shop, enquire for *Clari Bonarſcii Amphitheatrum Honoris*. Or if you have no other than your Engliſh Mother-Tongue, ask for the Memoirs of Mr. *James Wadſworth*, a Jeſuit that recanted, where in the ſecond Chapter, beſides many other Obſervations and collections out of Popiſh Authors, you may find *pag.* 23. part of a Poem taken out of the foreſaid Book, good enough for the form, though ſufficiently bad for the matter, wherein the prophane Author at leaſt equals the Virgin *Mary*'s Milk to our bleſſed Saviour's Blood, if he does not rather ſeem to make the Milk exceed that moſt pretious Blood in Virtue. You may there read it turned in part in *Engliſh* Verſe, with remarks thereon, together with ſome more of their Doctrines, and alſo extractions out of the Romiſh Pſalter: And further in the ſame Chapter, this *Clarus Bonarſcius* (otherwiſe called *Carolus Scribonius*) is ſaid to be a Jeſuit living at *Antwerp*, and of much account amongſt them, the Author and his Book ſtanding enroll'd, approv'd, and commended for good and Catholick; in *Poſſevines* Volumns of Writers, ſet out with publick allowance of the Romiſh State. If then this be not the

bringing in of a new Religion, a new way of Salvation, what is? What think ye then? Do not these Jesuits for their new Principles and Practices deserve to meet with an harder Fate, than did the unfortunate, though ingenious *Galileo*, who for that famous Invention of his Glass, and hints given of looking after a World in the Moon, was made to suffer (as my Memory tells me I have somwhere read,) an hard Imprisonment, under the Notion of Heresie, on supposition that a new World would imply a new Saviour?

Such having been the novel Inventions of these corrupt, *i. e.* Jesuitical Wits, what then remains, ye true hearted *English* Men, but that abhorring their debauched Principles and Practices, though not hating their Persons, you endeavour to keep your selves far enough off from men so much given to change? Who have been thus endeavouring to change the good old Religion and Doctrines, by their new fangled Devices, and new Morals, to proselite the more to Atheism and Debauchery. Who have plotted to change your Religion and your Laws, to change Protestantism into Popery, a free Government into absolute Tyranny; to change your Liberties into Slavery, and many of your Freeholds into Tenant-Lands, to a vicious Clergy and a Popish Church. What else meant a late Papist at his Tryal, who hath been reported, under the Liberty allowed by our Laws of excepting against Thirty Five of the Jury without Reason shewn, to have excepted only against one, and that as being an Impropriator, *alias* a Possessor of Church-Lands? If there was not such a Report, then my Memory imposes on me; if the Report was not true, Fame hath proved deceitful, or else I mistook her Relation.

So much Atheism and Irreligion having already been introduced among us, and such the Tendencies to the further debauching Mens Minds and Manners, whether

ther then it would not be much better (when it ſhall ſeem good to our Governours, to King, Lords and Commons aſſembled in the right Parliamentary way) to caſheer all needleſs unneceſſary Oaths, and reduce the too too common cuſtom of ſwearing upon every trivial occaſion into a far leſſer compaſs, judge ye. What ſignifies ſo much ſwearing at every turn, whenas other ways might be doubtleſs found out in many caſes, to ſearch out the truth with as much, if not more certainty? Might not leſs ſwearing, and ſeverer Penalties upon lying ſometimes ſerve the turn? It is plain enough, our Neighbours the Hollanders are none of the leaſt experienced People in the World: Among them have I read 'tis uſual for the Judges, without giving Oaths, to ſearch out the truth by ſudden croſs queſtions, wherein much practice hath made them very dextrous and skilful. And ſo they do as it were trepan the Trepanners, if I may uſe the Expreſſion without offence. What eſteem can any one think an Oath is with a man, that counts his words but breath, and his Soul Air? Will that man value the ſwearing of an Oath before a Magiſtrate, that prophanely can rap you out an hundred upon any occaſion in common Diſcourſe, without the leaſt Remorſe; or elſe is of the Popiſh *Prieſt*'s Opinion, that ſwearing upon an Engliſh Bible is no more than ſwearing upon *Æſop's* Fables, *i. e.* a ſtory Book, containing Tales of Cocks and Bulls, and the like? So likely to be true is it, that ſome men play with Oaths as Children with Rattles, a ſaying or ſomewhat like to what I have heard imputed to *Machiavel*. Let ſuch ſometimes ſeriouſly conſider, who have had an hand in impoſing ſo many Oaths of late Years, whether they may not one day be called to account for ſome of the many Perjuries others may have occaſionally run into thereby. The huding up of ſo many ſorts of Creeds and Doctrines together into one Volumn,

lumn, and then compelling men under great Penalties to make Declarations and Subſcriptions to them, has not been the leaſt burden, needleſly laid upon Mens Conſciences, in ſome places of the World. Even the Creed commonly call'd the Apoſtles, though one of the moſt Authentick, cleareſt and ſhorteſt, is not yet altogether void of Scruples, witneſs the difference amongſt the learned about Chriſts deſcent into Hell. A far ſhorter Creed uſhered in the *Æthiopian Eunuchs* Baptiſm. I could name, in fitting time and place, ſome of the moſt common Oaths among us, and which many of the moſt ſerious would not probably ſcruple to take on good account, which nevertheleſs are not ſo accurately, exactly, and cautiouſly compoſed, but a Conſcience very ſcrupulous and tender, might be liable to doubts and fears in taking and keeping them. Is not all this adoe, ſo much father'd upon Religion, too too often really deſigned to turn men out of beneficial Employments, that others may be let in, and ſometimes proves a Snare to many tender Conſciences? If the matter be honeſt and lawful, a truly ſerious good man will do it without an Oath: If he eſteems it otherwiſe, he will not take it, nay, he will rather throw up all than wrong his Conſcience. And I think he has reaſon beſides Scripture on his ſide, though he ſhould happen to be in an Errour: For he that for Intereſt, fear, or favour does any thing wittingly againſt his Conſcience, in itſelf erroneous, and he not knowing it to be ſo, ſeems to me plainly to manifeſt, that he would do the ſame, though his Conſcience were in the right. As for an ill man, a prophane man, an Atheiſt, what cares he how many Oaths he takes, after he is once in over Head and Ears, over Shoes, over Boots, ſo it be for his ſecular advantage? When Oaths, Covenants, Subſcriptions, Declarations, and ſuch like, at every turn and change of the times come thick and threefold

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one upon another, thwarting and croſſing each other, what ſhall the real honeſt hearted man do but refuſe them, and ſo turn himſelf out, to the letting in men many times of ill Principles, and worſe Practices, into places of publick Truſt? How then are things likely to go in any Land, when they fall into the Hands of ſuch prophane Debauchees, who are too too often thus introduced over better mens Heads, and ſometimes it may be deſignedly to ſerve turns? Have we never heard nor read of a time, when men of debauched Practices and Principles were ſought purpoſely after? When it was a ſufficient Objection againſt a man's preferment, that he was ſerious and religious, a little more perhaps than ordinary? Thus the wicked oft plotteth againſt the Righteous, who feareth an Oath, much more Oaths upon Oaths, leſt he ſhould be entangled and enſnared by the words of his Mouth. For breaking a lawful Oath, ſolemnly taken before God and Man, to our Engliſh Ears ſounds Perjury, in whatſoever Degree, Rank, and Quality, of any Nation, Country, Sect, or Faction, from the King that ſitteth upon his Throne, to the Captive in the Dungeon, not to vary from a Scripture Expreſſion in another Caſe. I doubt not but an Oath is very lawfully impoſed in ſome caſes, and is of good avail oftentimes between Man and Man; but whether to find out the truth thereby, is ſo ſure and ſafely practicable among the Men of theſe days, I humbly propoſe to the better Judgment of more experienced Heads to determine.

How happy might the times prove, were all men as obſervant of their Oaths, as *Joſhua* and the Princes of *Iſrael* were of the League they ſolemnly made with the *Gibeonites*! And yet they were plainly trapanned thereunto with a great deal of Guile, Fraud, and lying Deceit. What plauſible pretences to have broken this haſty Covenant, might they have raiſed from a former Com-

Command of their God, not to ſpare any of the *Canaanites*, nor league with them, from the notorious ſham theſe fraudulent *Gibeonitiſh* Ambaſſadours put upon them by their lying words, and from the murmuring of the whole Congregation againſt them? Notwithſtanding all this, we find they let them live, leſt Wrath ſhould have been upon them, becauſe of the Oath they had ſworn unto them. And that they did well in keeping this ſo ſolemn a league and Covenant, though obtained by Fraud and haſtily made, we have divine Authority to aſſure us from the Lord, in the Three Years Famine he ſent upon the Land in King *David*'s Days for *Saul*, and his bloody Houſe, becauſe, in his Zeal to the Children of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, he ſought to ſlay the *Gibeonites*, and ſo violated the Oath made by their Fore-Fathers hundreds of years before. We cannot, without the greateſt breach of Charity, ſuppoſe, that ſo holy a Man as *David*, one after Gods own Heart, made uſe of this only as a pretence to ruine and extirpate *Saul*'s Family, and ſettle the Crown the faſter on his own Head, and to fix it the ſurer to his poſterity after him. If any of us were ſo Atheiſtical, as from this inſtance to look upon Religion as only a piece of State Policy, our Suſpicious Thoughts and Cenſures would be ſoon anſwered from *David*'s own manner of acting in this particular, who is recorded to have ſpared the Son of *Jonathan*, *Saul*'s eldeſt Son, and that too upon account of the Lord's Oath, that was ſworn between them many Years before. As the Scriptures plainly ſhew us, that *Joſhua* and the Princes of *Iſrael* did well in keeping the Oath, they had ſworn, though drawn into it by Fraud and Deceit, ſo in them we find, how ill it fared with *Zedekiah*, the laſt King in *Jeruſalem*, after he had broken the Oath, which *Nebuchadnezzar* had made him ſwear by God. We doubt not but that there was force enough upon him to compel him, and

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it may be the price of a Kingdom likewiſe induced him thereto, for the benefit of his preſent occaſions; but how ill went it with *Judah* for his breaking that Oath, by whatſoever force at firſt gained of him, even to the deſtruction of the chief City, ſolitary deſolation of the Land for many Years, and utter ruine of the Monarchy for ever after? For after the Captivity we find it reduced back again into a kind of Common-Wealth, under Rulers, (and but one of them of *David*'s Line mentioned in the Scriptures, that I remember) Governours, the high Prieſts, the Maccabees, the Sanhedrim unto the coming of *Shilo*. So fatal to the Jewiſh Nation was their Princes Irreligion. There is no reſpect of Perſons with the Almighty, at whoſe Tribunal all muſt once ſtand to be judged, High and Low, Rich and Poor, Noble and Ignoble, Kings, Princes, and People, as ſure as the Scripture, which we eſteem the word of the great God, is infallibly true. But whither has the overflowing of my thoughts carried me?

To go back again therefore into the way, from whence I have ſo far deviated: In this ſame 44th year of King *Henry*, (wherein he commanded all of Twelve Years and upwards in *London* to ſwear to be true to him and his Heirs) we read of further grudge and diſpleaſure beginning to kindle between the King and his Lords. The occaſion is related to be, for that the Barons, with conſent of the Peers, diſcharged one, and admitted another for Juſtice unwitting the King. The diſpleaſure hence ariſing and encreaſing more and more, was however a little appeaſed for a while, by the Policy of the Kings Brother, and ſome Prelates of the Land. In this Year the Chronicler thought it worthy remark to make mention of the variance, that fell out between the *Londoners* and the men of *Northampton*, at a Fair there held, for a man of that Town there ſlain, which occaſioned

occaſioned a long Suit and Plea between them, to the great vexation and trouble of both Parties, wherein the end the City had the better. That City, that was able to make a Conteſt with the King's whole Court, is likely enough to match a particular Town.

In the 45th, ſhortly after *Alhallontide*, the Barons admitted and made Sheriffs of divers Shires, naming them Guardians and Keepers of the Counties and Shires, and diſcharged ſuch as the King had before admitted. Neither would they ſuffer the Juſtices, but ſuch as were of their own admiſſion, to keep the Itinerary Pleas. The Law allowed them power, and they were reſolved it ſeems to uſe it. The King, as any may eaſily ſuppoſe, was grievouſly diſcontented therewith, inſomuch (as ſaith the Chronicle) that after that Seaſon, he laboured what he might to diſannul the former Ordinances and Statutes, and cauſe them to be broken. To this end on the ſecond *Sunday* in *Lent* was read by the King's Command at *Paul's Croſs*, a Bull of Pope *Urban* the 4th, as a Confirmation of another Bull, before purchaſed of his Predeceſſor *Alexander* the 4th, to abſolve the King, and all others, that before had ſworn to maintain the Articles made at *Oxford*; and afterwards the ſaid Abſolution was ſhewed throughout *England*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*, ſtreight charge being given to all, that none be ſo hardy to withſtand or diſobey the foreſaid Abſolution: And if any were found diſobedient to this Commandment, that he ſhould be put in Priſon without Ranſom or Deliverance, till the Kings Pleaſure were further known. The Pope could pretend to abſolve on either ſide, if he were well paid. What then could any Oaths be ſuppos'd to avail without ſuitable Power to compel their Obſervance? Yet hitherto the Commons of the City held their Power formerly granted them: For we read of another Licenſe given to the King at a Folk-Moot to ſail into *France*, according

according whereunto he departed the morrow following from *London*.

Anno 46. *Thomas Fiz Thomas* being Mayor, *Philip Walbrook*, *Richard Taylor* Sheriffs, about *Martinide* the Jews felt the Peoples Fury to ſome of their coſts: So odious was that Nation grown in many parts of the World ſince our Saviour's Crucifixion, which had been formerly the darling of Heaven, that it muſt have been a very ſmall matter, that would not eaſily have ſtirred up the common People of the Land, where they lived, againſt them. In this Year is unkindneſs noted to have ariſen between the *Londoners* and the Conſtable of the Tower, for that contrary to the Cities Liberties he took certain Ships, paſſing by with Wheat and other Victuals, into the Tower, and made the Price at his Pleaſure. Hence might great harm have enſued, had not, by the Policy of wiſe men, the matter been committed to the Chief Juſtice and others, by direction of the Kings Council, to ſet an order and Rule between the ſaid Parties. The effect whereof was, that after Evidences and Priviledges produced to the advantage of both, it was firmly adjudged, that if the Conſtable, or any other Officer of the Tower, would at any time take any Wheat or Victuals, to the uſe of the King, or the Tower, he ſhould come into the City Market, and have it two Pence in a Quarter within the Mayors Price, and other Victuals after the ſame rate: And if he, or any of his Officers would do contrary to that Ordinance, that then the Sheriffs ſhould make report to the Kings Council, and withſtand him in all that they might, ſo that the King's Peace were kept. Here was Authority given to act againſt ſome commiſſionated by the King. What folly is it for every mean petty Officer to think to thwart this powerful City, and hope to be too hard for her Citizens, when their Liberties, Priviledges, and Franchiſes are concerned? This

This year ſilent murmurs paſſed up and down the Land of War, that was too too likely to enſue between the King and his Lords in ſhort proceſs of time, for the Bull of Diſpenſation before ſhewed in the Realm: But the mediation of good and wiſe men ſo appeaſed and ſtilled thoſe Emotions for a while, that the King agreed again to the maintenance of the aforeſaid Statutes, and ſent his Writs, wherein the ſaid Articles were compriſed, into all the Shires of *England*, giving ſtrict Commandment to all men, to obſerve and keep the ſame, and ſuch other as were to them joined by the diſcretion of ſome appointed to that end. But this again was ſhortly after revoked and denied. What Change in Councils, what Uncertainty and Fickleneſs of Mind was this? Give, and grant, and then recal: What could be thought the end of this variableneſs but Strife and Contention? Hereupon the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, a Star in that conjuncture of the firſt Magnitude in the *Engliſh* Firmament, proves erratick: For fearing what might enſue, like a cunning, ſubtle, worldly Politician, he makes an Errand to *Rome*, and by Licenſe of both Parties departs the Land, and ſo keeps himſelf out till the trouble was over. He had been a main Inſtrument a few years ago in Curſing the Breakers of the aforementioned Acts. Should he have ſided with the Kings Party, he had openly contradicted his former Actions, and in effect declared all his ſo ſolemn Curſes to ſignifie nought. Had he ſided with the Barons, he muſt have ſhewn himſelf an Aſſenter to their deeds, partaken of all the Changes and Chances of War, and publickly ſlighted and contemned the Popes Diſpenſation. A crime in thoſe days of very dangerous Conſequence to the offending Party. Upon *Midlent Sunday* the Mayor and Commons being preſent at a Folk-Moot, held at *Paul's Croſs*, before Sir *Philip Baſſet*, and others of

of the Kings Council, the Mayor was ſworn to be true to the King, and his Heirs Kings. Upon the morrow at *Guild-Hall* every Alderman is ſaid to have taken the ſame Oath in preſence of the Mayor: And ſo likewiſe upon the *Sunday* following, we read that every Stripling, of the Age of 12 Years and above, was anew charged with the ſame Oath before his Alderman in his Ward.

Then (according to my Author) the Diſpleaſure between the King and his Barons, which a long while had been kept ſecret, began to appear, inſomuch that diverſe of them aſſembled in the Marches of *Wales*, gathered unto them ſtrong Power, and ſent a Letter unto the King, under the Seal of Sir *Roger Clyfford*, beſeeching him to have in remembrance the Oath, and manifold Promiſes that he had made, for the obſerving of the Statutes made at *Oxford*, with other Ordinances made to the Honour of God, for Faith and Allegiance to his Perſon, Weal and Profit of all his Realm, willing him further to withſtand and defie all ſuch Perſons, as will be againſt the ſaid Acts, ſaving the Queen and her Children. After this Letter thus ſent, and no Anſwer received, we read of the ſaid Barons going with Banners diſplayed againſt ſuch, as they knew held againſt the Acts ſo often before mentioned. The effect of their Fury at *Hereford*, the Biſhop, and many of his Canons, Aliens born, ſoon felt to their great coſt and damage. Hence we hear of their going to other places, where they ſuppoſed to find their Enemies, keeping their courſe towards *London*, (this was the place, it ſeems, they deſired ſo much to fix to their Party) bearing before them a Banner of the Kings Arms, and encreaſing with the acceſs of much People, as they held on in their Journey. In this March, as they found any that they knew to be againſt the Maintenance of the aforeſaid Acts, they impriſoned them,

them, and ſpoiled their Habitations, were they Spiritual or Temporal Men, all the caſe to them at that time. In divers of the King's Caſtles they ſet in ſuch Perſons as they pleaſed, (putting out ſuch as were placed in by the King) and gave to them an Oath, that they ſhould be true and faithful to the King, and keep thoſe Caſtles to his Uſe, and to the Weal of the Realm. Here they ſeem to have outdid the Courtiers in their own way. The Mayor, Aldermen, and others of *London*, were made of late to renew their Oaths of Allegiance to the King and his Heirs, as if to weaken the Barons Party, by a crafty ſly inſinuation, that they went about to deprive the King and his Heirs of their Right. But as for thoſe ſuggeſtions behold the Barons diſappointing them, by giving the like Oaths to theſe of their own Party put into places of publick Truſt, and thereby in effect declaring, that 'twas not againſt the King, but againſt the ill Miniſters of State about him, whom they deemed the Authors of ill Advice, that they thus took up Arms, either to remove them, or deliver the King out of ſuch ill mens hands.

About *Midſummer*, when they drew near to *London*, the Chronicle tells us, that they ſent a Letter unto the Mayor, and Aldermen, under the Seal of Sir *Simon Mountfold*, willing to know of them whether they would obſerve the Acts and Statutes made in the Parliament called at *Oxford* or not, or elſe would aid and aſſiſt ſuch perſons as intended the breach of the ſame, and ſent to them a Copy of the ſaid Acts, with a *Proviſo* that if any there ſpecified, were to the hurt of the Realm, or common-Weal of the ſame, that they then by diſcreet Perſons of the Land ſhould be altered, and amended. See here the Influence the City had upon the Land, the eſteem the Barons had of *London*'s Power and Authority, and how deſirous they were to aſſure

it to their ſide and Intereſt. The forementioned Copy was by the Mayor carried to the King, then being at the Tower, accompanied with his Queen, his Brother *Richard*, *Edward* his Son, and others of his Council. Then the King, intending to know the Cities Mind, asked the Mayor what he thought of thoſe Acts and Ordinances, who, being refuſed time and leave to confer with his Brethren the Aldermen, and his Judgment demanded at that preſent ſeaſon, ſtands upon Record to have boldly anſwered the King, that beforetimes he, with his Brethren, and the Commonalty of the City, by his Commandment, had been ſworn to maintain all Acts made to the Honour of God, to the Faith of the King, and Profit of the Realm; which Oath, by his licenſe and moſt gracious favour, they intended to obſerve and keep. One of the Ingredients that, according to the Royal Pſalmiſt, goes to the compoſure of a Citizen of *Zion*, who ſhall abide in the Lords Tabernacle, and dwell in his Holy Hill, is, that he changeth not, though he ſweareth to his own hurt. And moreover (continued the Mayor) to avoid all occaſion, that might grow, of grudge or variance between him and his Barons within the City, they would put all Aliens and Strangers out thereof, if he were ſo contented. The King ſhewed as if he was well pleaſed with this Anſwer, ſo that the Mayor, with his favour, departed, and ſent Anſwer to the Barons, according to the ſame, their Liberties alway upholden, and ſaved. The Barons lying ſo near *London*, and with ſo conſiderable a ſtrength, 'twas time for thoſe Nobles, who were againſt thoſe Statutes, to be packing, as faſt as they could, for fear of the aſſociated Lords; But the King is ſaid to have ſent after them divers Perſons of his Houſhold, and of the Citizens of *London*, to induce them to return, and tarry with him. In that ſeaſon, according to the Mayor's former words,

all Aliens, ſuſpected of any favour owing to the one Party or the other, were put out of the City. Impartiality is rarely found among the Children of men, though it is ſo commendable a Virtue not to have reſpect of Perſons. But not long after we hear of their being placed in Offices, many of them in *Windſor* Caſtle, by *Edward* the King's Son. So uſual is it for conteſting Parties to receive and prefer one anothers outcaſts. No wonder then if we ſometimes ſee the ſame done in private Families, when at variance among themſelves, which is ſo oft acted over and over again in publick differences.

Then Watch and Ward was kept dayly in the City, and in the night certain aſſigned to ride about the Town, with ſome Foot-Men allotted to them, to ſearch all the Town over: But hence harm enſuing, by reaſon that evil diſpoſed Perſons, under colour of Watch-Men, ſeeking for ſtrangers, robbed and ſpoi'ed many Houſes in one part of the City, while the riding Watch was in another place, a ſtanding Watch was ordained in every Ward. The mind of the City being made known by their publick Mouth, the Mayor, 'twas time for men of a different Intereſt to endeavour to draw the King further off from it. Accordingly we find the King departs from the City, when he heard the Barons were coming into it. The Barons enter the City the *Sunday* before St. *Margaret*'s day, and the King ſhortly after returns to *Weſtminſter* with the Queen, and ohers of his Council. Soon after Sir *Hugh le Spencer* is made Chief Juſtice, and Keeper of the Tower, by conſent both of the King and the Barons. Upon the morrow following, *Maudlin* Day, was a Writ directed to the Mayor and Aldermen, charging them that the King's Peace be firmly kept within the City, for in the ſame it was expreſſed, that the King and his Barons were lovingly agreed. Furthermore

thermore in the ſame Writ it was commanded, that if within the Precincts of the City were any perſon or perſons known, that would withſtand the foreſaid Ordinances and Statutes, that all ſuch ſhould be attached and put in Priſon, and their Goods alſo attached for the King, till they knew his further Pleaſure. Well had it been for many great perſons, if this agreement had laſted longer; but, like other Worldly things, this new peace was alſo tranſitory. However here we meet with another inſtance of the Cities Concern, of the Cities Power, of the Cities Influence. 'Twas the Citizens concern to keep the Peace thus happily and quietly made. 'Twas their Power you here find engaged to ſee to it. And their Influence upon either party you may gueſs by the due care taken to inform them of the late mutual Agreement. In theſe days of Miſrule, and time of the Barons reſiding in the City, we are given to underſtand, that many Robberies were committed by divers therein, and much harm done, but little corrected, they were ſo born out and maintained by their Maſters. Such is the too too common effect of Civil broils. The Commons of the City were far out of Rule by the incenſing of riotous Perſons, ſo that in the Aſſemblies and Courts kept at *Guild-Hall*, or other places, Worſhipful men were little or nothing regarded, and ſimple, indiſcreet perſons carried away the voice.

As the City was in thoſe days powerful, ſo the Lords ſeem well to have known it, when, to obtain the more favour of the Citizens, they willed them to ſhew them, if they had any of their Liberties withdrawn, that they might again to them be reſtored, and alſo to think of ſome new ones to their Weal and Profit, and they would labour to the King to have them granted. Can any one deſire greater Evidence than Ocular Demonſtration? The City had a great many good and bene-

ficial Liberties and Franchiſes already granted, to the Emulation and Envy of many of her ill-willers. Yet here our own Eyes may eaſily certifie us of a large offer voluntarily made to her Citizens, by ſuch as had Power to encreaſe them, had they had the diſcretion at that time to have made a good uſe of it. For the Mayor having upon this kind offer aſſembled the Commons at *Guild-Hall*, and willed the Officers to deviſe ſuch things as might be beneficial to the City, they counſelling together, are ſaid to have made ſuch a note of Statutes, Proviſions, and Ordinances, to their own ſingular Profit, and ſo prejudicial to all other Foreign Merchants coming to the City, to all other Fairs, and Markets of *England*, and the univerſal Weal of the Realm, that upon overſeeing them the Heads told them, they were neither lawful nor charitable, and ſuch as they knew would not be admitted. So common is it in too too many concerns for private Intereſt to be brought up in the Van, while the publick is left lagging behind, as it were a loof off, in the Rear. The Heads of the City willing the Commons to deviſe other Ordinances, their firſt being ſo uncharitably ordered, and they, I know not upon what account, nor upon whoſe Incitation, proving refractory and refuſing, both thoſe and others, right neceſſary for the Common-Weal of the City, were rejected and put off, ſaith my Author. For men to go to logging of Bills, when they cannot otherwiſe hinder their paſſing, is a known Practice.

After St. *James*'s day we hear of the Barons departure from *London* towards *Windſor*, where they turned out the Aliens, before plac'd therein by the King's Son *Edward*, who thereupon, with other aſſociates, rode to the King with Complaints in their Mouths againſt the Barons, for ſpoiling them of their Goods: But theſe being then put off by the King with a promiſe

miſe of Juſtice, till more of his Council were with him, he, with other Attendants, ſailed into *France*, whence being returned after *Michaelmas* to *London*, there paſſed an Inqueſt of Twelve Knights of *Middleſex*, ſworn upon a Jury, between the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* and the City, for certain Priviledges the Citizens of *London* claimed within *Weſtminſter*, where by the ſaid Jury, it was found before the Chief Baron of the Kings Exchequer, that the Sheriffs of *London*, at thoſe days, might lawfully enter into the Town of *Weſtminſter*, and all other Tenements, that the Abbot had within *Middleſex*, and unto the Gate of the ſaid Abby, and there to make Summons, and diſtrain, for lack of Appearance, all and every Tenant of the ſaid Abbot. 'Tis not now adays only that the *Londoners* ſtand ſo ſtrong for their Priviledges, whatſoever ſome may think of it, as if out of ſtubbornneſs and oppoſition. Their Fore-Fathers were like-minded, and ſtood up courageouſly in defence of their juſt Rights and Liberties againſt Arbitrary Encroachers above Four Hundred years ago, *Anno* 1262. After this the former Complaint of the Aliens, and others, was declared before the King and his Lords in the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*. This is the Term *Fabian* gives it, but whether on the ſame account as he did before, when he expounded a Parliament by a Council of Lords in the 43d Year, *pag.* I am not ſo certain as poſitively to determine. Here the Chronicle tells us it was at laſt ſentenced, (but by what means and Inducements is not there ſet down) that the Barons ſhould reſtore all ſuch Goods, as they and their Company had taken from all Perſons before that day, as well to Aliens as other men, both Spiritual and Temporal, and alſo that ſuch Menial Servants as ſhould be daily in the Kings Houſe, and about his Perſon, ſhould be ſuch as the King would chooſe and admit himſelf: But the diſſenting Barons

utterly rejected these Articles, whereupon the Fire of Dissention was again kindled between the King and those his Lords.

In the 47th Year, by procurement of the Barons, we are told that the Commons of *London* chose unto their Mayor for that Year *Thomas Fitz Thomas*, [*Robert Mumphere* and *Robert de Suffolk* were Sheriffs] and without Counsel of the Aldermen swore him at *Guild-Hall* upon *Simon* and *Jude*'s day, and made no presentment of him the morrow following to the King, nor to the Barons of the Exchequer, as had been the custom: For which we may easily suppose the King was much discontented with the City. Whereupon the King perceiving the City would take the Barons part, having caused his Son to seise *Windsor* Castle by a Train, early in a Morning, a little before *Christmas*, he rode thither from *Westminster*, whither shortly after came also many of the Lords that were upon the King's party. As fast likewise the Lords and Knights on the Earl of *Leicester*'s side drew towards *London*: so that on either part was much People assembled. In the mean time some well disposed Mediators endeavouring a Concord between the King and his Lords, it was finally agreed by both parties, that all matters concerning the foresaid Articles of the Statutes and Ordinances made at *Oxford*, and afterwards by the 12 Peers, should be referred to the *French* King, to judge which should be held, and which not. Upon this Agreement were Copies made of the said Statutes, with Letters shewing the effect of the former Agreement, and sent unto *Lewis* the *French* King. Over sails the King, with his Son *Edward*, and others of his Council on one side: On the other were sent Sir *Peter de Mountford*, and others, as so many Sollicitors for their mutual Parties: So that the Statutes were strongly argued before the *French* King by both sides. In the end, the *French* King

King *Lewis*, calling before him both Parties on *January* the 24th, and ſitting in Judgment, gave expreſs Sentence, that all and every of the ſaid Statutes and Ordinances ſhould be from that day forward utterly void and ſet at nought, and all ſuch Bonds and Promiſes, that the King or any other had made for the maintenance of the ſame, ſhould be annulled and cancelled, and the King and all others, for any matter concerning thoſe Statutes, ſet at Liberty.

After this Sentence thus given, the King returned into *England*, and ſo to *London*, *February* the 15th. This King *Lewis* is named a Saint, for that he was not (I ſuppoſe) ſo bad as other Princes too too commonly are, or more probably for ſome deeds of his pleaſing to the Popiſh Clergy, as his ſending to deſtroy the (then accounted) Heretical *Albigenſes*, his taking a Voyage once into the Holy Land, and undertaking a ſecond towards the ſame place at the Popes requeſt: For at that time the Holy War (as 'tis generally called) was cried up in theſe Weſtern parts of the World, as a high piece of Devotion. But whatever eſteem *Lewis* had got in the World, the Barons (it ſeems) continued not to have the ſame Veneration for him, but were contrarywiſe much moved with his Sentence, noting great Partiality in him, thus to diſannul all the foreſaid Acts, which were at firſt made in Parliament, the King agreeing to them, and had been variouſly confirmed, by the Kings Grant, his Oath, and manifold Promiſes, together with a ſolemn Curſe denounced againſt ſuch as would attempt in word and deed to break them. It may be 'twas the Fame of this King *Lewis*'s Goodneſs, that made the Barons conſent to have him the Umpire, as one concerned on neither party. But what could be expected in the Caſe? Could it be ſuppoſed, that he, a King, would not favour his Brother King what he might, rather than by confirm-

ing these Acts, pretended so prejudicial to all Royal Prerogative, give Example to his own Subjects to require the like at his hands, or attempt to compel him thereto by force? Had the Lords gotten an Umpire from among some disinterested Subjects of some other Land, he perhaps would have adjusted the busines wholly in their favour. So hard had it been to have met with a just Arbitrator in the case, who would not have declined to one or the other Party, for fear nor favour.

King *Henry* having thus got a Verdict on his side, and the Barons noting Partiality, and therefore refusing to stand to the Judgment, (though the Chronicle intimates to us, that they had promised assuredly to abide the *French* Kings Arbitration:) For King *Lewis* expressly excepting King *John*'s Charter before granted, the Barons persisted in defence of the *Oxford* Statutes, as founded on that Charter. What then remains, but to commit all to the last Decision of the Sword, and so the whole Arbitrement shall be cast more immediately into the hands of Providence? Away from *London* go the Lords Westward, into the Marches of *Wales*, where drawing to them great Power, they war upon the Lands and Castles of Sir *Roger Mortimer*, to whose aid *Edward* the King's Son coming, his People were distressed, and he himself almost taken. To redress these grievances a new Parliament was appointed at *Oxford*, which *Fabian* says never came to effect: Yet he mentions another Chronicle, which affirms this Parliament to have been there kept, and that the King and his Lords parted thence all at Discord. Besides the mutual Strength of People on either side, The Barons had the Acts of Parliament made by the King, Lords, and Commons (for of such I have elsewhere read these Assemblies were composed in those days) to fight for, which to observe the King, and many others

others had been ſworn, beſides a ſolemn Curſe denounced againſt the Attempters to break them. The King with his Party had the Popes Bull of Abſolution, the Sentence of the Council of Lords at *Weſtminſter*, and the Judgment given on the Kings ſide by *Lewis* the *French* King for their Incitement. Such then being the cauſe contended for, theſe being the mutual advantages to ſtrengthen either ſide, the difference is brought in the Spring into the Field to be decided.

All things in a manner thus tending to War, the Barons drew towards *London*, that's their Place of Rendezvous: where new Aſſurances by Writing indented was made between them and the Commonalty of the City, without Conſent of many of the Rulers thereof. Whether they were ſwayed in their minds to the other ſide by Reaſons they carried in their Pockets, I find not, or thinking they had moſt to loſe, they feared to be the greateſt Sufferers, if the chance of War ſhould fall croſs, or elſe out of Envy and Emulation to the Commons, who had already been entruſted with ſo much Power by the ſo often named Statutes, and were in probability likely to get more, if the Barons ſhould prevail, or at leaſt keep what they had gotten. Hence 'tis plain, that the Commons of the City were the men that ſtood by the Lords in defence of the Parliament Acts: Many of the Rulers ſeem not to have appeared. Wherefore the Commons, as men enraged, made to themſelves Two Captains, *Thomas de Fywelden*, and *Stephen Bukkerel*, whom they named Conſtables of the City. At whoſe Commandment, by tolling the great Bell of St. *Pauls*, all the City ſhould be ready in Arms, to give Attendance upon the ſaid Captains.

About the beginning of *Lent*, the Conſtable of the Tower, Sir *Hugh Le Spencer*, came with a fair Company of men at Arms into the City, and deſired Aſſiſt-

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ance of the forenamed Conſtables, who commanded the ſaid Bell to be toll'd. By means whereof the People ſhut their Shops and came out in Arms in great Multitudes, who, after Proclamation made that they ſhould follow their Captains, without knowledge what to do, or whither to go, followed them unto *Thyſtleworth*, beyond *Veſtminſter*, and there ſpoiled the Manour of the King of the *Romans*, (*Richard* the King's Brother) ſetting it on Fire; and afterwards with great noiſe and cry returned unto *London*. This *Richard*, King of the *Romans*, appears to have been a Mediator of Peace between the Two Parties, but after this outrage, what elſe could be expected, but that he ſhould become the Barons Enemy to the utmoſt of his Power? Though 'tis commonly ſeen, that from War moſt come home by Weeping Croſs, yet there are ſtill too too many found, that deſire to fiſh in troubled Waters. Would any, but ſuch as were in Love with Blood and Wounds, have counſelled ſuch a Fact as this, in the midſt of Civil broils, thus to compel the only Mediator of Peace, likely to prevail, to become a man of War, and which was worſe, an Enemy, a powerful Enemy, inſtead of a peaceable Friend?

In the time of theſe inteſtine Jarrs between Men of the ſame Country and Religion, 'twas much if the Jews ſhould have eſcaped free, who were ſtrangers, of different Rites and Cuſtoms, and ſo odious to the Common People. That they did not eſcape the enraged Multitudes Fury, we find, by mention made of Five Hundred of them ſaid to be ſlain at one time in *London*, on *Palmſunday* week. The occaſion is related to be, for that a Jew would have forced a Chriſtian to have given him more than Two Pence a Week for the uſe of Twenty Shillings. This being the ſtinted Uſury then permitted the Jews, by the King's Grant: According to which rate they might take in

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any Summ lent, greater or leſſer. A reaſonable man would have thought, this might have ſatisfied the greedy Minds of moſt ordinary griping Extortioners, Eight Shillings Eight Pence by the Year in the Pound, Forty three Pounds Six Shillings Eight Pence in the Hundred: Uſury unconſcionable enough of any ſenſe. While the Land ſtood thus divided into Parties, the Jews felt the Peoples rage in the City, and the Country did not altogether ſcape taſting the miſeries of Civil Wars; King *Henry* by divers places came at length into *Suſſex*, with a ſtrong Power, whereof the Lords hearing made preparation to go towards him.

Accordingly in the end of *April*, the Barons, with many of the Citizens in the vaward, departed from *London*, taking their Journey towards the King, and hearing he was at *Lewes* with a great power, by common conſent drawing up a Letter, ſent it in the name of all the Barons to the King: But the Anſwers were ſo rough, and in ſuch a ſtile, that it plainly ſhewed that the Sword could be the only decider of the Quarrel, and final determiner of the Conteſt, ſo much were their Minds exaſperated each towards other, though of the ſame Nation and Kindred.

The Barons well perceiving by theſe Anſwers, that there was no other way, but to decide the Quarrel by dint of Sword, they went forward towards the King. *Wedneſday May* the 24th, 1263. is the day that may be writ in Red Letters, for the great quantity of Blood ſpilt thereon, in the Battle fought at *Lewes* between the King and his Barons, wherein by the Will of Providence, the Victory fell to the Barons, with ſuch a total rout to the other Party, that they took Priſoners the King, his Brother, his Son, with many other Noble-Men, to the number of Twenty five Barons and Banerets, above Twenty Thouſand being ſlain, according to my Author's Account. After this

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ſo compleat a Victory, the other Priſoners being ſent elſewhere, the Barons kept the King, his Brother, and Son, till they came to *London*. This was the place wherein they had found Shelter, and had had ſuch conſiderable Aſſiſtance from the *Londoners*, that there ſeemed a kind of Obligation lying on them, and it implied ſomwhat of a Recompence due to the City, there to ſhew the Trophies of their Victory. Now we may eaſily conclude, that the forenamed Statutes are to ſtand in full force even by the Kings Conſent. And ſo accordingly we find a Grant made, and an Agreement, that if any were thought unreaſonable, they were to be corrected and amended by four Noble Men of the Realm, Two of the Spirituality and Two of the Temporalty: And if the four accorded not, the Earl of *Anjou* and the Duke of *Brittain* were to be Judges in the caſe. To continue this accord the firmer, the King's Son, and his Brother, were to remain the Barons Priſoners till it was compleated. A Parliament was alſo appointed to be held at *London* within a ſhort ſpace, though my Author writes, that this never came to purpoſe. So it ſeems, that in thoſe elder times a Parliament was the Subjects deſire, and as it were the laſt Refuge, and means of Reconciliation, to eſtabliſh Peace and quietneſs in the Land.

Tueſday before *Aſcenſion-Day* is the time named, whereon the acceptable news of Peace were proclaimed between the King and his Barons in *London*, and next day thither they came with the King, his Brother, and Son, and the Two Princely Pledges were ſent into ſafe Cuſtody, firſt to the Tower, afterwards to *Dover* Caſtle. In the time of theſe civil Diſtractions, and before the Battle, we find that the Wardens of the Cinqueports kept the Sea with Ships, that no Stranger might enter the Land, to the Kings aid againſt the Barons. Sometime after the Battel we hear of Souldiers coming in great

great numbers unto *Dover*, there to land: But King *Henry* was induced to ride thither, with a great power, and force thoſe Strangers to go back again, and the Kings Brother ſent Priſoner to *Berkhamſtead* Caſtle, till thoſe Aliens were returned. It ſtands upon Record in my Author, that he and the Queen had ſent over the Sea for them. So that hence it had been manifeſt, though the Relation of King *John*'s Reign had not been extant, that it is no late Device, nor new Practice, for Perſons of Arbitrary Pretences to call in outlandiſh Soudiers, when they fear they cannot raiſe aſſiſtance enough at home, in their own Native Country, to ſupport and bring to effect their ill intended deſigns. The Barons ſide ſtood firm for the Obſervation of the Parliament Acts: The Kings party deſired to have infringed them. The Barons grew powerful and formidable, the other ſide ſeem fearful that they ſhould not be able to compaſs ſtrength enough at home, ſuitable to their Deſigns and deſires, and therefore ſent abroad. There being idle men enough to be had for mony in moſt places, Soldiers were waged, but there was a Sea to paſs, (which required much time, and a ſuitable Sail of Ships to watt them over,) and a conſiderable ſtrength lay in the way to intercept them, if they came not well provided for an attaque. So that it was a day as it were after the Fair before they came, and that was many hours too late, whereupon they were compelled to return again without, and againſt their firſt Intent.

This is the inconvenience, ſome may think, the great advantage, others may conclude of an Iſland's ſcituation, that it cannot eaſily be over-run with foreign Forces, as Lands upon the continent often are, and with more facility. If the ſhooing of themſelves

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and their Horſes with Cork would do the feat, then they might happen more eaſily to paſs the Sea, but as things go in this Age of the World much time as well as a great Navy is requiſite to tranſport an Army, though little or no oppoſition be made. Yet how difficult would it be to prevail where among One Million Two Hundred Thouſand, One Million One Hundred and Fifty Thouſand are on one ſide, and Fifty Thouſand on the other. *i. e.* In Twenty four Twenty three parts againſt one part: What could it avail, if on ſome other fine, neat pretence, a good ſtore of Forreigners might poſſibly happen to be introduced, ſuppoſe Fifty Thouſand: Above Eleven to One would ſtill be great odds. If we ſhould grant One Hundred Thouſand could ſilently be let in under another Notion, into how many little ſmall Parcels muſt they be minutely divided, at how many ſeveral Ports muſt they arrive, what charge to keep and maintain them, unleſs put upon preſent ſervice? And yet there's ſtill hazard enough in the World, and to ſpare, One Million one Hundred and Fifty Thouſand againſt One Hundred and Fifty Thouſand: to every man an oppoſite and Ten over: Odds ſufficiently at Foot-Ball, if in a leſſer number. Were it not for the Law of the Land, in how many places d'ye think the 9 Lay Sheaves would not devour the Parſons Tenth Sheaf? *England* ſtands firm upon its old bottom of Freedom; but *France* hath had Experience more than enough of the aforeſaid truths. 'Tis well known the preſent *French* King keeps his poor enſlaved Subjects under with a ſtrong Force, compoſed moſt of other Country Souldiers, and by their aſſiſtance, with ſome others connivance, and the help of French Money, is become the Terrour of *Europe*. I doubt not but much of

of this his preſent greatneſs ſprung at firſt from a ſucceſsful attempt made in his yoůnger days, to introduce forreign forces upon his leſs wary Nobility and Gentry, in behalf and by the Guidance of a great Miniſter of State, whom ſome of them had deſired to be diſcarded from ſitting at the Helm of Government. Whereof his preſent Majeſty I believe had no very pleaſing nor deſirable Experience. 'Twas in the time when Providence permitted our King to be injuriouſly kept out of his right by an Uſurper, that the *French* Nobles were urgent to have their King exile *Mazarine*, and the better to effect it were ready to have appeared in Arms: But their King in ſhew granting their deſires, (and it may be through the mediation of our Gracious Prince who had too ſad an Inſtance of his own to urge from his Fathers unfortunate Fate) the Princes grew ſecure and laid aſide their combined ſtrength: whereupon the exil'd *Mazarine* comes out of *Germany* (ſo have I heard) with a ſtrong Army of many Thouſands up to *Paris*, and then order'd things at his own Pleaſure, and the Kings. The deceiv'd Princes could never vindicate themſelves ſince, and our, then almoſt friendleſs, King ſhortly after thought good to leave the Country, though the Place of his Mothers Original, leſt he ſhould have been bid to depart, and that diſguſted States-man (as may be ſuſpected) cauſes the K. to cloſe with *England*'s uſurping Power, and deſert a poor diſtreſſed, over-power'd Prince with no more regard to him or his, till his Proteſtant (what if I had alſo added Presbyterian?) Subjects recall'd him to poſſeſs his Fathers Throne, wherein long may he live and flouriſh to the Nations good, and his own continued Wellfare.

An. 48. *Thomas Fiz Thomas* Mayor, *Oſbert Wynter Phil. Taylor* being Sheriffs, The Lords of the Marches about

about *Chriſtmas* aſſembled, and did much harm in the Manours of the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter* (the two noted Chiefs of the Barons Party) thereabours, which occaſioned the King to ride ſhortly after to *Gloceſter*, where, by a Council there called, it was enacted, that ſuch of the Lords, that did not come in and yield to the King by the *Octaves* of *Hilary*, ſhould be exil'd. Let the queſtion here be, whether theſe Lords, known to have been of the K's Party, both before and after this Tranſaction, were guilty of Treaſon or Diſloyalty in not coming in at the King's Call, & yielding, as the Barons party doubtleſs cordially deſired, & with whom the K. was then perſonally preſent? Had they ſtraightways obeyed, and come in all upon Summons, the Barons had obtain'd their deſign; but how would the change ſucceeding have been brought to paſs, ſo much to the Courts advantage, and the other ſides prejudice? Where's the politick Caſuiſt, that can here ſlit a hair between loyal and diſloyal deeds, Obedience and Diſobedience, the duty of ſubjection and open refuſal thereof? According to an Agreement there made, in the ſaid Octaves a Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*, where met (as *Fabian* hath left upon Record) the King with his Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of the Land, to begin that Parliament. Here was it enacted, the King being preſent, that he, nor *Edward* his Son, nor none of them, ſhould after that day grieve, nor cauſe to be grieved, the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, the Barons, Banerets or Knights, the Citizens of *London*, and Barons of the Five Ports, nor any other Perſon or Perſons of high or low Degree, that was upon the Party of the ſaid Earls, for any matter of diſpleaſure done againſt the King and his Son *Edward*, at any time before that day.

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To uphold this, the King's Sworn before his Lords. After that was ſhew'd and Read a Charter of Pardon concerning the ſaid Cauſe, and a confirmation of the Statutes of the Forreſt, with many other Acts and Statutes before granted by the King. Here was an Act of Oblivion ſtrong enough one would have thought to have indemnified the offending Parties; but before the end of the Year we find the Tide quite turn'd, through variance and difference ariſing between the Two Thiefs of the Barons Party, and then the King's ſide prevailing Caſheers what was done before, Oaths held them not, and another Parliament repeals and diſanuls the former Pardon. So that the late Pardon'd Offendors ſoon became the (reputed) Guilty Priſoners upon the old Scores, Cancell'd and forgiv'n as was thought a little before. The longeſt Sword will make and mar Laws at pleaſure, let people ſay what they will. This Party's Might commonly bears down, what the other Party calls his Right. *Edward* the King's Son having likewiſe Sworn to perform the promiſes, which the King had before made in Parliament, was deliver'd at liberty, and the other Pledg his Cozen, upon aſſurance made to abide in the King's Court, and not depart without Licence of the King, and ſome of the Barons. What care do the Barons ſeem here to have taken, to ſtrengthen and confirm their Party againſt any future afterclaps? How ſollicitous do they appear to have been to prevent an after-Reckoning, and all Tendencies thereunto? Nay, how conformable to them, did the King and his Son ſhew themſelves likewiſe therein? Witneſs the many Inſtruments and Bonds made by them, for the performance of Covenants and Pactions before agreed on. And yet all was ſoon deſtroy'd and brought to none effect: One of the Barons Chiefs helping *Penelope*-like to unravel

the Web, they had been ſo long a Weaving.

The Ordering the former Statutes made at *Oxford*, which had hitherto ſo faſt united them, was the occaſion of diſſention between the Two Potent Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, to the ruin of the Baron's Party; the difference aroſe (as *Stow* tells us) between them, for that *Leiceſter* not only kept the King and others as Priſoners, but alſo took to himſelf the Revenues of the Kingdom, which it ſeems ſhould have been equally devided amongſt them. So that it was the Golden-Apple, that ſeems to have occaſion'd this ſo fatal Diſcord. The King indeed and his Lords labour'd for an Union, but it fell out well for the King's ſide, and ill for the others, that they ſucceeded not. This happen'd between *Eaſter* and *Whitſuntide*. In the *Whitſun*-Week, we hear of *Edward* the King's Son ſecretly departing from the Court at *Hereford* without Licence, and aſſociating himſelf with the Earl of *Gloceſter* and other Lords at *Cheſter*, from whence he haſts to *Gloceſter*, breaking the Bridges as he went, that he might not be follow'd, till he had Aſſembled his Power. The Earl of *Leiceſter* was too wiſe not to gueſs at his Intent, and therefore in all haſt ſends to his Son to Aſſemble his Forces. *Simon* his Son, with his Forces Aſſembled, draws towards *Wincheſter*, and was at firſt kept out by the Citizens, becauſe they knew not whether he came as the King's Friend, and for that they had alſo receiv'd a Letter from *Edward* to that purport. But it was not long e're the City was yielded, and then the Caſtle Beſieged, after that the City had been ſpoil'd, and many of the *Jews* therein Inhabiting Slain. They were ſo odious generally to the People, that they ſhould be ſure to have their ſhare to the purpoſe in the publick Calamity, if the Commons might have their Will. The Papiſts, after all their diſcover'd Plots, known Practices, and

deſtructive

deſtructive Principles, are not in a vaſt degree much more hateful to the generality of the *Engliſh* Nation in theſe Days, than where the griping *Jews* in thoſe Elderly Times.

At *Kenelworth* the Baron's Party receiv'd the firſt blow under this *Simon*, where they were ſhamefully defeated by *Edward* and his Hoſt, and many Eminent Priſoners taken without the ſhedding of much Blood. At *Evyſham* in *Worceſterſhire* were the Barons diſcomfited, with ſuch a total overthrow, and the deſtruction of ſo many Men of Note on that ſide, that 'tis no wonder that their Intereſt among the People ſo viſibly decay'd for the future, and in time was fully loſt. Soon after this Victory the King and his Son *Edward* met, by whoſe Authority, the Priſoners then in hold were releaſed, and many others accus'd, and put in for them. Not long after was held a Parliament at *Wincheſter*, where by Authority of the ſame, the Statutes and Ordinances before made at *Oxford* were Repealed, and all Bonds and Writings before made by the King, or any other, Cancell'd and Broken, and all ſuch as had favor'd the Barons, diſinherited. A Rout indeed. A Rout firſt to the Men that would have had the Laws have been kept, and then a Rout to the Laws themſelves, to Parliament Acts and Statutes. So deſtroy firſt of all the Proteſtant Men and Women, the Subjects of Religion, and then the Proteſtant Religion falls of courſe. What could it at that time avail the defeated Party, to plead a former Obedience to the Power then Regnant, ſince the preſent Powers were otherwiſe reſolv'd? If the Parliament in Being will have Obedience paid to a former Parliament eſteem'd Treaſon, who dare gainſay it? Little boots it the poor weak Beaſt to cry the Bunch in his Forehead is no Horn, when the more powerful Lion ſays it is. After theſe

Parliament Tranſactions, we hear of the King's reſuming into his hands all grants before made and given to any Perſon. After his Sons Victory the King calls not a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, leaſt poſſibly it might have been over aw'd by the City of *London*, but aſſembling it at a place far enough diſtant, and things having there been carried according to the Courts intent and deſire, now have at *London*.

Accordingly, after the Parliament was ended, we read of King *Henry*'s coming to *Windſor* with a great Power, intending (as the Fame then went) to deſtroy the City, for the great Ire and Diſpleaſure he had unto it. We need but gueſs to know, with what a wonderful fear the Mayor and Aldermen were then ſtricken at this Report. Yet we are told that many of the Commons were in full purpoſe to have defended the City againſt the King. So it ſeems there were then many and divers opinions among them. The City being in thoſe days Inhabited with Men of many Nations, who were then, according to *Fabian*, admitted for Citizens. At laſt the Citizens condeſcended to make a ſupplication to the King, and ſend it by ſome Religious Perſon. Many are ſaid to be ſent by ſundry Perſons; but to little avail: The King being ſo grievouſly incenſed by ſome of his Counſel againſt them, that he would not look upon their Supplications, and if any ſpoke in their behalf, he ſoon would make ſuch countenance, that even Men in his Favour fear'd to ſpeak for them. Now was the time for their Ill-willers to vent the utmoſt of their Spleen againſt this Honourable City, formetly their Terror, and hope to compleat their full Revenge by working its Deſtruction. We doubt not but Men of Arbitrary deſires have always hated ſuch free conſtituted Corporate Towns and Cities, and have little reaſon to beleive, but that there are Men of the like ill Principles and

Practiſes

Practiſes ſtill alive in the World, who would heartily rejoyce in their Minds to meet with the like opportunity to work out their corrupt deſigns. Have you never heard of ſuch a ſaying, as that the Corporations will prove *England*'s Deſtruction? Out of what Mint d'ee think this comes? Where was it firſt forg'd, but in ſome ſuch men's Brains? We now look upon one of theſe Corporations, as one of the principal Bulwarks of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Engliſh Liberty: And that it may long ſo continue, in defence of their juſt Priviledge, and true Religion, in ſpight of all Arbitrary endeavours and Popiſh deſigns, is the hearty Prayer and Deſire (I doubt not) of every good Proteſtant and Loyal Engliſh-man. While the cautionary Proteſtant Towns in *France* ſtood firm and fix, and uninjur'd in their juſt Liberties and Priviledges; how glorioufly, and with what ſafety did the Proteſtant Religion flouriſh in that Land? But when through the Force and Violence of Arbitrary Pretenders, and treacherous connivance of ſome corrupt Engliſh States-men, *Rochel* was reduc'd in the laſt age under abſolute power, what foundation was thereby laid for the Proteſtants future Ruin, and preſent greatneſs of the French Monarchy? How well the Papiſts deſigns have there ſucceeded, ſince the utter ſubverſion of the Proteſtant Towns, is not unknown to their Neighbours: Such ſad Reports have not long ſince pierc'd our Engliſh Ears of the Barbarous uſages the Proteſtants there have lately undergone, whereof ſome ſorrowful Spectacles may have poſſibly preſented themſelves of late to ſome of our Eyes. What further Progreſs the Jeſuits may haply make in their curſed deſigns, by ſending into *England* bloody Papiſts, in the form of diſtreſſed Proteſtants; We have but too juſt Cauſe to fear. Eſpecially if all be true, that hath been Reported, of the going of

ſome of theſe ſuſpected Strangers to a Popiſh Habitation, and of others being ſeen going to Maſs. How well would it be for the Land, were all theſe Reports undoubtedly falſe, and our Fears, Jealouſies and Suſpicions, altogether cauſeleſs.

When the Citizens Supplications were thus rejected at Court, the Hiſtory tells us, that they were counſelled by their Friends to make a Writing, and Seal it with their Common-Seal, whereby they ſhould offer to put themſelves wholly in the King's Grace and Mercy, touching their Lives and Goods. This we may eaſily ſuppoſe, much more Irkſome, than a bare Surrender of their Charter, yet this was at length done, and Eight Perſons of the City, who had Friends at Court, choſen and ſent towards *Windſor*; But upon the way encountring with Sir *Roger Leyborn*, one of the Kings Knights, he turn'd them unto the City, Riding with them till he came near it, and then departing from them Rode upon the back ſide of the Town unto the Tower. But at his departing from them, he willed them, to warn the Mayor with certain of the City to meet him to morrow at *Berking* Church, ſtanding near unto the Tower. Upon their meeting next morning, Sir *Roger*, after a long preamble, ſhew'd them the Kings grievous Diſpleaſure, which he bare towards the City, and the means that had been uſed by their Friends, to obtain Grace for it. In fine he expreſſed, that no Grace for them might be had, except they would by their Common-Seal bind themſelves fully and wholly to ſtand at the King's Grace, and to put in his Mercy their Lives and Goods. This being in the end granted by the Citizens, and the foreſaid writing delivered to Sir *Roger*, with entreaty that he would be a good mean for them to the King: He departed upon the morrow to the King, and return'd again in Six Days, and willed the Mayor and

Aldermen

Aldermen to meet him again at the foreſaid Church. There he ſhew'd them, that the King, by great Inſtance of their Friends, had received their writing, and would firſt, for the beginning of the content of his mind, That all the Chains, which ſtood in every Street and Lane's end within the City, ſhould be looſed from their Poſts, and the Poſts alſo drawn out of the Earth, & all be brought into the Tower. So belike upon apprehenſion of great danger, to ſet up Poſts & Chains in the City is an ancient Cuſtom. He alſo further order'd, That this being done, the Mayor with about Forty of the Citizens, ſhould the Day following be at *Windſor*, to confirm the Grant of their Writing: And that they might come and goe in ſafe and ſure wiſe, he delivered them the King's Letter and Seal for the term of Four Days.

All this being done, the Mayor with other Perſons were ready at *Windſor* on the morrow, being Sunday, by One of the Clock, and tarried there till Four: At which ſeaſon the King coming from his Diſport, (as ſays my Author) enters the Caſtle without countenance or caſting his Eyes upon the *Londoners*. The King and his People being entred, the *Londoners* would have followed, but they were warn'd to abide without. Then in ſhort time after the King caus'd a Proclamation to be made, that no man of high or low degree ſhould make any ſayings of diſpleaſure or quarrel to the *Londoners*. In the Evening Sir *Roger* and another Knight came to them, and brought them into the Caſtle, and ſaid, The Kings pleaſure was not to ſpeak with them that Night; And after deliver'd them to the Conſtable of the Caſtle, who Lodg'd them all that Night in a large Tower, to their ſmall Chear and worſe Lodging: Upon the morrow being *Monday*, toward Night, they were taken out of the Tower, and delivered to the Bayliff of the Caſtle, and Lodged

by his Assignment, except these five Persons, *viz. Thomas Fitz Thomas Mayor, Michael Tony, Steven Bakkerel, Thomas Pywellyson*, and *John Defete*. These five had the King given to his Son *Edward*, at whose commandment they remained in the said Tower long after, notwithstanding the King's safe Conduct to them before made. What became then of the King's word? But who durst oppose a waking Lyons. The subtle Hunter in the fable lik't not to deal roughly with him, till his long Teeth were broken out, and his Claws cut off. When, upon the bruit of Queen *Mary*'s being with Child, King *Philip* of *Spain* her Husband desired to be chosen the Childs Guardian, if the Mother should Decease, and offered the Parliament great assurances and Bonds of Security for his redelivery of the Kingdom at the appointed time, that Gentleman shew'd himself no Fool; who, when the assurances were likely to find acceptance, stood up and inquired who should sue the Bond; And the Parliament enough approv'd him, when they immediatly thereupon rejected the King's specious offers. 'Tis very disadvantagious, and often injurious to the Weak, to be making of bargains with the more Powerful, who are strong enough to break their Promises and Covenants with Impunity, or keep them but e'en as they please. When the tydings of the usage of the Mayor and the rest at *Windsor* came to *London*; whereas many for fear had absented themselves before, upon this news many more convey'd away themselves and their goods secretly into diverse parts of *England*, so that many of them are said never to have return'd after.

In the 49th. Year, *November* the 6th. We find that the King came to *Westminster*, and shortly after gave to diverse of his Houshold-Servants, near about sixty Houses and Houshold's within the City, so that the Owners were compell'd to redeem their Houses and Houshold's,

Houſholds, with all the goods in them, or elſe to depart and ſuffer ſuch Perſons to enter to whom the ſaid Houſes were given. This grant is ſaid to have extended likewiſe to all the Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, which the ſaid Citizens had in any other places of *England*. Riches have often made Perſons been ſingled out for offendors, while the poor Man in the mean time ſcapes free, few envying him his Poverty. After this was *Othon* Conſtable of the Tower made Cuſtos or Guardian of the City, who choſe *John Adrian* and *Walter Hervy* Citizens to be Bayliffs under him, and to him to be accountable to the King's uſe. Then took the King pledges of the beſt Men's Sons of the City, that his peace ſhould be ſurely kept within the ſame. Theſe were put into the Tower, and there kept at their Parents coſt. Shortly after by great Labour and Suit made, the foreſaid Londoners, in the keeping of the Bayliff of the Caſtle of *Windſor*, were deliver'd and came to *London*, except four of them, *viz. Richard Bonaventure*, *Symon De Hadiſtok*, *William De Kent*, and *William De Gloceſter*, who with the other five afore excepted were ſtill kept in the Tower of *Windſor*. Then dayly Suit and Labour was made to the King, to have his Gracious Favour, and to know his Pleaſure, what fine he would have of the City for their Tranſgreſſions, and Diſpleaſure by them to him done. The former Tranſactions ſeem to bear a Tendency hereunto. The Citizens were prevail'd upon to reſign up themſelves, their Lives and Goods, into the King's hands, ſubmitting all to his Mercy, that a good large fine might be the eaſier levied of them, and the Nation the better made to beleive, that the City was well dealt with for paying no more, when as the King might have ſeiz'd upon all, they having ſurrendred in a manner wholly upon diſcretion. To what elſe tend the many preparatives before rehears'd

hears'd, but to make this bitter Pill go down, the ſmoother and quieter with them? The Book acquaints us that the King asked 40000 *l.* and firmly ſtood at 50000 Marks. But the City alledged for themſelves, that the poor Commons of the City, whereof many were gone away, were the Treſpaſſers, and that the beſt of the City by theſe riotous Perſons were rob'd and ſpoil'd, and had loſt a great part of their Subſtance in this troubleſome time, by the Rovers of the Sea, as the Wardens of the five Ports and others. For theſe and many other conſiderations the Citizens beſought the King, of his moſt Gracious Favour and Pity, to take of them as they might bear.

This matter thus depending, the King departed from *Weſtminſter* to *Northampton*, having a little before his departure Ordain'd Sir *John Lynd*, and Mr *John Waldren* Clerk to be *Guardians* of the City and Tower, they being nam'd in the King's Writing, Seneſchals, or Stewards of the City. Upon the Day after the King was gone, theſe Two Stewards ſent for Twenty Four of the moſt notable Men of the City, and warned them to appear the Day following before the King's Councel at *Weſtminſter*. At their appearance it was ſhown unto them by Sir *Roger Leyborn*, that the King's mind was, That they ſhould have the Rule of the City in his abſence under the foreſaid Seneſchals, and for to ſee good Rule kept in the City, they ſhould be ſworn there before his Councel. They were thereupon ſworn and countermanded unto the City. The City's fine was in agitation till about *Chriſtmas*, when an End was made with the King, by ſuch friends as the City had about him, for the Sum of 20000 Marks, for all tranſgreſſions and offences by them before done, ſome Perſons excepted, whom the King had giv'n to his Son *Edward*, being thoſe afore nam'd kept in the Tower of *Windſor*. For the payment of this

this Sum at Days by agreement ſet, where Sir *Roger Lezbern* and Mr *Robert Wareyn Clerk* aſſign'd to take Sureties. After Surety by them receiv'd, and ſent to the King at *Northampton*, the King ſent immediately after to the Citizens a Charter under his Broad Seal, which may be ſeen in *Fabian* my Author in theſe tranſactions.

Tis needleſs to make many comments or gloſſes upon this affair. Through the whole it is manifeſt, that the City was of conſiderable Power and Eſteem, ſo that the King thought not good to exaſperate the Citizens too much, leaſt evil ſhould have come of it. To make a Bridge of Gold for a flying Enemy is no mean Policy. Doubtleſs it was well for the Court that they us'd not the utmoſt violence, for the Baron's Party was not wholy deſtroyed as yet in the Land, though it was very much cruſh'd. How ſoon the whole City joyn'd therewith, might have equally pois'd, if not turn'd the Scales, had ſhe been too harſhly dealt with, I rather crave leave to remit to the Readers conſideration, than haſtily preſume to determine. 'Tis certain enough, that within leſs than Four Years, the Cauſe was in great likelihood to have been reviv'd to purpoſe, had not convenient courſe been taken to huſh it a ſleep again, without raſhly proceeding to the higheſt extremities, as you may find in the ſequel of the Hiſtory. After the aforeſaid Pardon was receiv'd by the Citizens, the pledges in the Tower of *London*, and the four laſt mention'd to be left in the Tower of *Windſor* were deliver'd. The forenam'd Stewards were alſo diſcharged, and the Citizens choſe of themſelves for Mayor, *William Fiz Richard*, and for Sheriffs *Thomas de la Fourde*, and *Gregory de Rokiſley*, as *Fabian* acquaints us. For Levying of the aforeſaid Fine were ſet as well Servants, and Covenant-men, as Houſholders, and many refus'd the Liberties

berties of the City to be quit of that charge. By which we may give some part of a guess at the greatness of the fine, what a considerable summ 20000 marks was in those days, before the *Indies* were brought into *Europe*, some hundreds of years.

This controversy with *London* being thus brought towards an end, the King had leasure to mind the suppressing the remains of the Baron's Party. *Simon de Mountford* upon certain conditions was permitted to be at large in the Kings Court, and so continued a Season. But when the King was come to *London*, he suddenly departed to *Winchelsea*, where he accompanied with the Rovers of the Sea, till after some Prizes taken he departed from them into *France*, and put himself into the Service of the *French* King. So here's an end of the Potent Earl of *Leycester*'s Family in *England*: This Powerful Earl bid fair for the Rule of the whole Kingdom, but had he reviv'd the Battail of *Evesham* a Conqueror, how much further he would have gone, I may think but not positively determine.

Another Act of the Kings this year, in order to the total rooting out of the Barons remains, was his laying a Seige to *Kenelworth*-Castle with a mighty Power, but this prov'd a task not quickly at an end. Now the time comes to revenge old slights and neglects. Besides Strangers prepar'd to come over into *England*, the Queen had also purchas'd a curse of the *Pope*, (a womans aid) to accurse all the Barons, their aiders and helpers; & Commissions were directed to certain Bishops of *England* to execute, but they for fear of the Barons, are said to have deny'd, and deferred the Execution and Sentence of the said curse. Wherefore she made new labour to the *Pope*, and had it granted, that the said Bishops should be corrected for their disobedience. Whereupon *Octobon* the *Pope*'s Legate, at a Councel

Councel by him and the Clergy held this year at *Paul's* Church in *London*, ſuſpended thoſe Biſhops, and ſent them to *Rome* to be abſolv'd of the Pope. A pretty errand to go nine Miles with *Waltham's* calf to Suck a Bull.

In the 50th year about *Chriſtmas* was *Kenelworth* Caſtle yielded, after near half a years Siege, upon Conditions of life, Limb, Horſe, Armes and all things elſe in the Caſtle to the defendants belonging, and time to carry them away, and not to be diſinherited. Neither is it any wonder, that they had ſuch Conditions granted them, if that be true, which *Stow* relates, *viz.*, that at the King's coming to beſiege the Caſtle, their force was ſo great, and thoſe in the Caſtle ſo little daunted at their Enemyes preſence, that they ſet open their Gates, and never cloſed them day nor night, and come whoſo would, they came to their coſt, Thus you ſee the King found it no eaſy matter wholly to ſuppreſs the remainders, though he had over power'd the heads of the Baron's party. About *Lent* were the Wardens of the five Ports reconcil'd to the King by favour of *Edward* the King's Son. Obſerve here by the way his policy. In his Father's time he deſir'd to cruſh that power, which might have hamper'd him in his own Reign, and having pretty well quaſh'd it, he after ſeems a pretender to Popularity, by mediating with his Father in behalf of many, that addreſſed themſelves to him for reconciliation. It much avails to apply our ſelves to a fit Interceſſor. So have I known a Stepmother, when requeſted, prevail with the Father her Husband in her Son in Law's behalf, when he himſelf could not.

The Conditions of this reconciliation of the Barons Cinque Ports are not unworthy of the remark. We read that in *Anno.* 47. theſe Wardens of the five Ports kept the Sea with Ships, that no Strangers ſhould enter

ter the Land to the King's Aid. In 48, we are told that they rob'd and ſpoild all men that they might take, ſparing neither Engliſh Merchants nor others, of which preys, as the Common Fame went, the Barons of the Land had a good part. In 49 we find the *Londoners* alledging for themſelves, in mitigation of the great Fine required of them, that they had loſt great part of their Subſtance by the Rovers of the Sea, among whom are named the Wardens of the Cinque Ports. And yet notwithſtanding all theſe great Harms done, they are Recorded to have had all their former Priviledges confirmed to them, and further was Granted, That if any *Engliſh*-man, or other, would Sue for Reſtitution of Goods, by them before taken, or for the Death of any of their Friends before Slain, that all ſuch Complaints ſhould be Sued in their Courts, there to have their matters determin'd, and not elſewhere. What greater Aſſurance could theſe Barons deſire for their own Security? They might well promiſe themſelves impunity, when they were in ſuch fair probability to be their own Judges in their own Cauſe, unleſs we muſt ſuppoſe Juries were to be choſen elſewhere. Wonder we might in good reaſon, that the King would yeild to ſuch Terms of Accomodation, had we it not upon Record, that the common Fame at that Day ran, that the ſaid Wardens of the Five Ports had then the Dominion of the Sea: Whereupon the King was after a ſort compell'd to follow their Pleaſures. When a Man is to take an unpleaſant Potion, after he hath drunk up the greateſt part thereof, it not rarely happens, that the Remains in the bottom are harder to get down than was all the reſt.

About the Feaſt of *Philip* and *Jacob* we hear of the King's holding a Parliament at *Northampton*. At which were confirm'd the old Franchiſes and Liberties,

by

by the King's Progenitors before Granted to the City of *London*, with a new Grant for the Shire of *Middlesex*. 'Tis good to make things as sure as we can. At this Parliament were likewise disinherited many Noble-men of the Land, who before-time had taken the Barons Party. For which cause they accompanied together, Robbed in divers parts of the Land, took *Lincoln* and spoil'd it, and after Ransomed many of the Rich Burgesses of the Town: And taking the Isle of *Ely*, so strengthened it, that they held it long after.

Anno 51, At the chooſing of the Mayor of *London*, a Controversie arose between the Rulers and Commons of the City. Wherefore by advice of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen Sir *Roger Leyborn* (a Courtier plain enough by his Actions related before) with others came to *Guild-hall*, being Armed under their Gowns, and upon *Fryday* following *Alhallon* day, called the Commons to the Election of the new Mayor. How free was this Election likely to be, whither men came secretly Armed to assist their Party? *Fabian* tells us that the best of the City gave the Nomination to *Aleyn Sowch*, and divers of the others cryed upon *Thomas Fitz Thomas*, at that time Prisoner in *Windsor Castle*, wherefore the said Sir *Roger*, with the Assistance of the Mayor and others, took those Persons, and sent them un to divers Prisons. So that what they could not so well get by fair means, some seem resolved to obtain by force. And yet 'tis not unlikely, but they could be ready enough to bear People in hand that such was a free Election. The Act against Disturbance of Free Elections (wherein the King commandeth upon Forfeiture, that no man by force of Arms, nor by malice or menacing, shall disturb any to make Free Election) was not at that time dreaded, as not being as yet enacted (for it is plac'd in the third of *Edward*

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the First, the following King) wherefore the Disturbers might not then think they had such cause to fear, having the Court also on their side, as others must have had since, as soon as ever they should have acted so imprudently, as to bring themselves within the lash of that standing Law. Observe we here the Power and Esteem, that usually accompanies the Mayoralty of this Honorable City, since that each Faction were for choosing one of their own Party. Shall I further remark upon the whole of this affair, what Party in a Nation 'tis, that sticks not at fraud nor force to effect their Designs, when fair dealing is too weak to compass them? But who will promise me that this will not be offensive? Therefore to proceed. In this Year the Gentlemen, who kept the Isle of *Ely*, and liv'd there like Outlaws, broke out several times and did much harm in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridge* Shire, took *Norwich*, and after spoiling it, carried away with them many of the rich men, and ransomed them at great sums of Mony. This gave occasion, the story says, to Thieves and other ill dispos'd People to do many other hurts and mischiefs in divers places of the Land, and the blame was laid to those Gentlemen. Then the Pope's Legate labour'd with the King, that those disinherited Gentlemen might purchase their Lands of him by Fine and Ransome. Whereupon it was agreed that they should have their Lands again at five Years value, some being excepted, and others of small Possessions to be Fined at the discretion of the King's Councel. But this took no conclusion saith my Author.

Anno 52. *Alexn Sowch* being Mayor, *Thomas Basinge* and *Robert de Cornehyll* Sheriffs, we read of another broyl beginning, which was like to have created no little disturbance in the Land, had it not been timely appeas'd, and brought to an end by the Intercession

ceſſion of wiſe Mediators. For *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Gloceſter*, formerly a powerful Man among the Barons Party, by reaſon of difference and diſguſt ariſing between him and the no leſs Potent Earl of *Leiceſter*, of the ſame Party, having turn'd to the King's ſide, adding to it ſuch conſiderable ſtrength, that it ſoon overpowr'd the weakend Barons; but now upon what occaſion *Fabian* expreſſes not, he refuſed the King, and gathered to him a ſtrong Power in the Marches of *Wales*. To him likewiſe drew Sir *John Eyvile*, and others of the diſinherited Party. So that after *Chriſtmas*, he comes with a great Hoſt near unto *London*. When the Mayor and Aldermen of the City were aware of the Earls coming with ſo ſtrong a Power, and not knowing whether he were the Kings Freind, they ſhut the Gates againſt his Fore-Riders. And for that neither the King, nor any of his Councel were then near the City, they went unto the Legate, at that time lodged in the *Tower*, and required his Councel, whether they ſhould ſuffer the Earl to enter into the City or not, whereunto the Legate anſwered, that he thought not the contrary, for he knew well that he was the Kings true Subject and Freind. Not long after came a Meſſenger from the Earl to the Mayor, to have Licence to paſs through the City into *Southwark*, where he intended to lodge with his People: which was granted, and ſo the Earl paſſed through the City, and was lodg'd in *Southwark*: To him came ſhortly after by *Surry*-ſide, Sir *John Eyvile*, with a great Company. Then the Mayor kept the Gate of the Bridge ſhut, watching it dayly with armed Men, and every night caus'd the Draw-Bridge to be drawn, and the Wa-

perſide daily and nightly to be watched with Men in Arms. In ſhort time after the Legate and the Earl agreed in ſuch wiſe, that the Earl by his advice was ſuffered with certain of his People to be lodged in the City : By means whereof he daily drew more and more of his People into it, ſo that finally many things were ordered by him, and many of the Commons took his part againſt the Mayor and Aldermen.

The Commonalty of the City had had great Power put into their hands by the Statutes made at *Oxford*, as appears before in the Meeting of the Folkmoot at *Pauls* Croſs ; they had been lately fin'd, after the Barons overthrow, for their ſtanding in defence of thoſe Parliament-Acts, and but the laſt year had been diſturb'd by the Mayor in their Election of a new Mayor, by force of Arms, and therefore now we may beleive it all remembred. What, ſhall we looſe ſo ſeaſonable an opportunity, (we may ſuppoſe they might then think) if not to regain our former power, yet at leaſt to vindicate our ſelves againſt future affronts ? Here we may note not a little of the Earls policy. After he had gathered together his People, he comes away to *London*, and getting leave to paſs through it with part of his Forces, he ſettles himſelf as near the City, as he might, in *Southwark*, and then by degrees gets himſelf and his Power into the City, hoping doubtleſs to find a Party therein willing to ſecond him, which hopes we perceive by the ſequel were not ill grounded. Is not this a plain inſtance of the Cities Power, Eſteem, and Influence in thoſe days? If any can produce plainer proof hereof, let them as ſoon as they pleaſe. I think here is

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Mathematical Demonſtration: matter of Fact not of Fancy.

In *Eaſter* week we read that the Earl took the Keys of the Bridge, and of the Gates, from the Officers of the City, and deliver'd them to ſuch as pleaſed him, and received into the City many of the diſinherited Perſons, and gave them free liberty to paſs the Bridge at all hours of the day and night. Of all this the Mayor ſent word to the King, who then was gathering of this Power in *Norfolk*, and made haſty ſpeed towards *London*. In the mean time the Earl with his Company made Bulwarks and Barbicanes between the Tower and the City, caſting Dikes and Trenches in ſome places thereof, and forfeited it wonderfully ſaith my Author. Then many of the Citizens, fearing a new Inſurrection, departed from the City as ſecretly as they could, whoſe goods the Earl ſeized to his own uſe, or ſuffered his men to ſpoile them at his pleaſure. Then the Commons forgetting their late puniſhment, or rather too much remembring it and intending revenge, without fear or dread of their King took certain of the Aldermen, and caſt them into Priſon, ſequeſtring their Goods, and ſpoiling much thereof: And thereupon ran to *Guild-hall*, and choſe for their Mayor, Cuſtos, or Ruler of the City (take which name you pleaſe) Sir *Richard de Culverth* Knight, and for Bayliffs *Robert de Lynton* and *Roger Marſhal*, and diſcharg'd the old Mayor and Sheriffs. Theſe the fruits of Civil Broils. This being done, we read in the next place, that all ſuch Priſoners, that were in *Newgate*, *Ludgate* and *Criplegate*, or in any other Priſons within the City, becauſe of the Baron's War before paſſed, were delivered and ſet at liberty.

Thus each Party when in Power, ſtrives to weaken and ſuppreſs their oppoſites, and ſtrengthen their own ſide. What avails Laws, Cuſtomes, and Ordinances in the midſt of Armies? How ſuddainly? how unexpectedly is the wheele turn'd? who knows how ſoon the Barons War had been anew reviv'd, had not Powerful Mediators interceded to the prevention of more blood ſhedding. The *Oxford* Statutes ſtood in deed repeal'd by the *Winchester* Parliament, but who can divine what new devices the wit of men backt with Power might in time have found out, to retreive their late overthrown cauſe, had not Providence ſo diſpos'd mens minds to peaceable Councels, as to bring theſe new troubles to a quicker end.

When the Legate beheld all this Diſcord, we are told, he repented him of his former Councel given to the Mayor, which we may eaſily believe without looking for any proofs thereof. For the Legate might well think himſelf accus'd in many men's thoughts, as one of the occaſional Cauſes of much of this diſorder, though it may be they might not be ſo uncharitable, as to believe him any other, then an accidental not deſigned Cauſer thereof. He ſeems by the Hiſtory to have endeavour'd ſomewhat to vindicate his Reputation, when he ſaw he could not reform the Earl, by threatning him with the Cenſures of the Church, and to accurſe him as the Diſinherited were. For that was always one of the beſt Weapons the Popiſh Clergy were moſt dextrous at. If any grievouſly diſpleas'd them, no matter what the cauſe was, good or bad, allowable by the Divine Laws or not, to Curſe him with Bell, Book and Candle, was their uſual accuſtomed Practiſe.

ctiſe. Whoſoever believes me not, let him go to the Martyrologies,& ſee whether he can then beleive his own eyes. Yet I do not find (let the Inſtance here be one) that this their Curſing had ſo general an effect upon all men, as they would have had it, unleſs they got it well backt by the Civil Magiſtrates Authority. Therefore their common uſe was, as they had opportunity, to inch out the Spiritual Sword with the Temporal. What did many value to have their Souls given away to the Devil, if they could keep their Bodies out of Priſons from being delivered over to the Secular Power by the Clergy, who ſeem thus as it were by craft to call the Magiſtrate the Devil? A plain caſe, when Men to exalt their own Worldly grandure, or out of Animoſity to revenge a particular private peek or quarrel, under pretence of Religion, uſurpe a Power over Men's Souls and Conſciences, which belongs not at all to them, or elſe turn the Edge of it to a uſe quite contrary to the Primitive Inſtitution, it quickly looſes its Ancient Vigour and Eſteem, and from a Terror it becomes a ſcorn to perſons of underſtanding, able enough to diſcern men's wicked prevarication from true Religion. Were it not for the Writ *De Excommunicato capiendo* in ſome Caſes Men would little value Excommunication, or look upon it otherwiſe than a Scare-Crow to fright Children and Fools, what's hanging, were it not for choaking.

To proceed after this menace and threat of the Legate, we are told that he commanded Divine Service to be ſaid without Note, and the Church doors to be ſhut in time thereof, and that no Bell ſhould be rung unto it, to the Intent that the diſin-

herited, who ſtood accurſed, ſhould not enter the Churches to hear it. Upon three Weeks after *Eaſter* we hear that the King came to *Ham*, a few miles from *London*, whether likewiſe came the Legat ſoon after. Then the King's hoſt made divers aſſaults upon the City, but it ſeems with little or no hurt to the Town, it was ſo ſtrongly fortified. My Author makes mention of Guns and other Ordinances, but I queſtion whether he ſpeakes not rather after the faſhion of the Age he liv'd in, than after the true uſe of armes in thoſe more elderly times. For the firſt invention of *Gunpowder* by *Bertholdus Swart*, the *German* Monk, is plac'd by Chronologers a conſiderable time after.

In this time of variance the Legate upon his Party, and the King of *Romans* upon the other party, for alliance between him and the Earl of *Glocester*, labour'd ſo to the King, that Peace was ſpoken of. During the Treaty the Soldiers lying in Southwarke made many Robberies in *Surry* and other places. Neither did the King's Palace at *Weſtminſter* eſcape, for we hear that ſome of them rowd over thereto, and Spoil'd it, drunk up the Kings wine, brake the glaſs of the Windows waſting and deſtroying other Neceſſaries thereunto belonging, and came likewiſe ſometimes into *London* and Robbed there. Diſorderly unruly Soldiers little regard any one, unleſs they be kept under Strict diſcipline. Sacred or Prophane much the ſame to many of them. Some of theſe ravenous Spoilers being taken, are recorded to have had a ſevere Puniſhment inflicted on them, through the Earl of *Derby's* means, whoſe Body or Cognizance they bare *viz.* bound hands and leggs, put into a Sack and ſo caſt into *Thames*. About *Barnby*

day

day was the Peace between the King and the Earl concluded. After this Concluſion the Earl removed out of the City and was lodg'd again in *Southwark*. The King entred the City the Sunday before *Midſomer* day according to the Book: And forthwith the King's Proclamation were made through it, of the peace made between the King and the Earl. After was liberty given to the diſinherited Perſons of Eleven Days reſpit to ſhift for themſelves, either to depart to ſuch Places, where they might be in ſome Surety, or elſe to agree to the former Compoſition made by the Legate, *viz.* To pay the Fifth part of the Yearly Value of their Lands, certain Perſons only excepted, as is before related. As touching the Earl, and ſuch other as before were not diſinherited, together alſo with the Citizens of *London*, they were clearly to be forgiven and Pardoned. Then were reſtored to their Offices *Aleyn Sowch* Mayor, *Thomas Baſinge* and *Robert de Cornhil* Sheriffs. And the Aldermen, before depoſed, were again likewiſe reſtored to their Wards and Offices. A happy Reconciliation.

Next comes the relation of the Legate's interdicting all the City the *Wedneſday* following, which endured from ſix of the clock in the Morning, till three the next day in the Afternoon, and then was diſcharg'd upon the Oath of two Commons ſworn in the name of the City, that the City ſhould ſtand to the Ordinance and Judgment of the Church. So *Fabian* informs us, but he likewiſe tells us of another Chronicle which affirms, that this Interdiction ſhould have continued longer, had it not been for the ſternneſs of the *Londoners*, who held the Legate ſo ſtreight, that they inforc't him to withdraw that

ſentence upon the foreſaid Condition. So that it ſeems the Legate had not ſtrength enough to deal with the *Londoners* ſo roughly and harſhly, yet ſecurely, as otherwiſe he might perchance have done with leſſer Places and Parties. His reverend Legateſhip ſeems not here to have went ſo cunningly to work.; as did a Legate much of the ſame Name, if not the ſame Man, in the twenty firſt of this Kings Reign, with the *Oxford* Scholars. He firſt got far enough off from them to *Wallingford*, and then accus'd the miſdoers, that had put him into ſuch a fear, that for his Safeguard he took the Belfry of *Oſney*, and abode there, till the Kings Miniſters coming from *Abbington*, with ſtrength mixt with fair words, delivered him, and conveyed him away, as is in part before ſhewn. No, no, the *Londoners* were too ſtrong and ſtern, ſo to be fool'd and us'd. They would rather, we perceive by the ſtory, compel him, then fawningly crouch to him.

After this the Bulwarks, and Barlicarnes, made by the Earl in the City, were plucked clean up, and Ditches fill'd, ſo that no part of them was ſeen. Good to deſtroy all the Monuments of civil Broils and Diſcord. When the Citizens ſhould have had their new Pardon granted, an obſtacle was made, for ſo much as they as yet had not recompenced the King of the *Romans*, for the Subverſion of his Manour of *Thiſtleworth*. Well remembred and as ſeaſonably put in. A good convenient opportunity to put in for his ſhare; when he knew all the other differences were pretty well quieted in the Land, and might reaſonably conclude, the City would rather wiſely part with a little Money, than begin a new trouble for a ſmall matter, and ſo hazard all.

For

For his Reparation was ask'd (we find) six thousand Marks. But finally, with great Labour and Freindship agreement was made, to give him for amends one thousand marks to be paid in two years. Thus you may observe, some will be sure however to ask enough, where they know there is good Ability to pay, though they take at last much less: Like the Jester, that requested five hundred Oaks of the King to Build him an House, when as one hundred was enough, and it may be too much.

After these Transactions, the King accepted and received to his Grace, Sir *John Eyvile*, and several others, some of them named before among the Barons Party. Accord was also made between *Edward* the Kings Son, and the Earl of *Gloceſter*. Then were all Fortresses and other Defences, before made in *Southwark*, and the places adjoyning, pull'd up (saith my Author) and destroyed, and the Earl with all other Souldiers departed After things thus set in Order and Rest, except that some yet kept the Isle of *Ely*, the King Rides to *Shrewsbury*, and tarries there a Season to commune of matters between him and *Lewellin* Prince of *Wales*. While he there abode, I find that a Writ was directed to Sir *Aleyn Souch*, Mayor of *London*, eight days before *Michaelmas*, from the King, charging him that the Citizens should not proceed to Election of new Sheriffs, till his coming to *London*, but to suffer the old to abide still in Office. By this we may guess at the honourable Sheriffs Power, even in those days, and beleive that the Court thought it convenient for their interest, in those unsetled times, to influence the Election what they might. What else means the Kings command to defer the Election till his coming to Town?

And

And indeed we may perceive by the Hiſtory, that there was meddling to the purpoſe the following year, for the King himſelf, inſtead of permitting a free Election, did in effect put in two Sheriffs, of his own nomination. For the Mayor was commanded to preſent to the King ſix Perſons able to be Sheriffs (it may be it was alſo privately intimated to him whom they ſhould be) and out of them the King choſe two to be Sheriffs, *William de Durham*, and *Walter Henry*, and cauſed them to be ſworn, that they ſhould gather the profits of the City, and give a true Account before the Barons of the Exchequer. But for this, the Court ſeem to have had a pretty plauſible pretence from ſome diſorders lately committed in the City. As indeed they appear by the Hiſtory of this Kings Reign very ready, either to find occaſion for pretences, or elſe to make one, that they might ſeize the Cities Charter, and after reſtore it again for a good round ſums of Money.

The Diſorders in *London* above mention'd were occaſion'd, through variance falling out between the Fellowſhips of Goldſmiths and Taylors in *November*, in the fifty third year of this King, reckoning with my Author from the uſual time of the Mayors entring into his Mayoralty. This variance was ſo great, that it grew to the making of Parties, ſo that with the Taylors held the Craft of Stainers, with the Goldſmiths held another Fellowſhip or Craft. By means whereof much people nightly gathered together in the Streets in Arms. At length, as if before appointed, there met one night of the ſaid Parties upon the number of five hundred Men on both ſides, and ran together with ſuch violence, that ſome were ſlain and many wounded: To this purpoſe I find

find it related. Then upon outcry made the Sheriffs with a ſtrength of other Commons came to them, and took certain of them, and ſent them to the Priſons: Upon the Morrow ſuch ſearch was made, that moſt of the cheif cauſers of that Fray were taken and put into Ward. Upon the *Friday* following *Katherines Day*, at the Seſſions kept at *Newgate* by the Mayor, *Laurence de Broke* Juſtice and others, were many of thoſe Perſons Arraigned of Felony, and and ſome of them caſt and hang'd. Among them was likewiſe caſt one *Godfrey de Beverlay*, who had helped to Arm one of them. Thus the Accellary is not ſeldom thought as guilty as the Theif.

On the Morrow after St. *James*'s day, the King diſcharged (as writes my Author) Sir *Aleyn Souch* Mayor, and made *Stephen Edworth* Conſtable of the *Tower*, and *Cuſtos* of the City of *Londrn*. *Fabian* (after whom I moſt write) hath left us the Names of a Mayor, and Sheriffs, affixt to every year of this *Henry*'s Reign, yet he likewiſe gives us to underſtand, that of theſe Rulers of the City, after the year that *Thomas Fytz Thomas* was Mayor, there are divers opinions. For after ſome Writers (continues he) from that year, *viz.* forty eight till the fifty fifth of King *Henry*'s Reign, in which year, *John Adrian*, Draper, was Mayor, they were all Guardians and no Mayors, and who ſo was then Conſtable of the *Tower*, the ſame was alſo *Cuſtos* of the City. So that, according to this Account, there paſs'd about ſeven years, wherein the *Londoners* had not the full and free uſe of their Privileges and Franchiſes. If this be allowed for a Truth, we have but little Reaſon to marvel, that we find the Commons ſo ready to adhere to ſuch, as they might hope would vindicate their former

mer Liberty, and the Rulers ſo averſe from joyning with ſuch, in diminution of that Regal Power, to which they ſeem wholly to have ow'd theirs, and not to any Intereſt and Favour they had among the Commons of the City. Who knows, if thoſe Writers words be granted, but this might be ſome Reaſon of the Earl of *Gloceſter*'s ſtirring again againſt the Court deſigns, (with a little perhaps of Jealouſy, of the Kings Son *Edwards* overmuch familiarity with his Wife, in a Court hinted to us by *Stow*, but plaid by him an year later, *In Reg.* 53.) when he ſaw the City, which had formerly took part with the ſame ſide he once was of, deprived of their Liberties and Franchiſes, with little hopes of regaining them, much through his means, by his late ſiding with *Edward* the Kings Son, to the weakning and overthrow of the Barons Party, to which the City had ſo firmly adher'd? In this year, by Mediation and means of the ſame *Edward*, all ſuch diſinherited Perſons, as kept the Iſle of *Ely*, are ſaid to be reconciled to the King, and all Fortreſſes and Defences therein by them made, plucked away and deſtroyed.

In *July*, *Octobon* the Pope's Legate, who had intereſted himſelf ſo much in the late Tranſactions, departed towards *Rome*, but not without a great Treaſure, Levi'd, we hear, of the Church. My Author intimates, That he made many good Rules therein; if they were not only Rules, but alſo good Rules, why ſhould he not be well paid for them? I don't think theſe kind of Men did very often Ordain ſuch extraordinary good Rules, unleſs you will call thoſe good, which tended to the ſatisfying the Pope's Avaricious Mind, and exalting his,

and

and the Clergies Temporal Grandeur. Of her might be their Pretences, but Mony doubtleſs was much of their aim, when they ſent their Legates into this Land, or into other Countries owning the Pope's Juriſdiction: and the Event proves it too true. Without all Peradventure, it was not for nothing, that *England* was called the Pope's Packhorſe. Annals, Peterpence, Tenths, Firſt-Fruits, and the like, were good Pickings, that were drawn hence, to *Rome*: And that the Popiſh Clergy know full well, and therefore their fingers are itching to be Trading here again. If the Pope's Mule could once more ſet his Foot ſafely on *Engliſh* Ground, there is little doubt but they would make us pay for old and new, it ſhould ſcape them hard elſe.

'Twas about Four Years before, even in 49, that the Citizens of *London* compounded with the King for a Fine of Twenty Thouſand Marks, and yet in this Year 53, there is another mention made of it, as it were hinting to us, that it was not yet all Raiſed, or at leaſt, that all ſuch, that were Aſſeſſed towards it, had not returned in their demanded Aſſeſſment, but to avoid that and other Charges, had rather choſen to depart from the City with their Houſholds and Goods, and Inhabit in divers other places of the Land. Whence we may without doubt well and truly conclude the ſcarcity of Coin in thoſe Days, and greatneſs of that Impoſed Tax, or elſe the Paucity of the Inhabitants of *London*, and ſmalneſs of the City, in compariſon with what it is at this preſent time. If then the City was of ſuch Power and Eſteem in thoſe Days, as the former paſſages ſeem ſtrongly to prove, how great and conſiderable an Influence, have we reaſon to beleive

leive it hath at preſent upon the reſt of the Nation, now it is grown by far more Populous, and much more Splendid in Riches, Trading, and Buildings? Though many of the Citizens thus fled the City, thinking thereby to be acquitted of the Charge of the aforementioned Impoſition, yet I find not that this availed them ought. For the others of the City remaining made (we are told) Inſtant labour to the King, and had it Granted, That all ſuch, as for the aforeſaid cauſe had carried their Goods out of the City, ſhould be Diſtrained by the Sheriff of the Shire, where they then dwelled, and forced to pay all ſuch Sums, as they before were Aſſeſſed at. Why ſhould not Men take the Bad with the Good? If they deſire to enjoy the City's Priviledges in the Day of her Proſperity, there is but little reaſon, why they ſhould not likewiſe partake with her in the common Calamity and Adverſity.

In *September*, The Five Citizens, *viz. Thomas Fitz Thomas*, &c. ſpoken of before in the Forty Eighth Year, who had hitherto remained Priſoners in *Windſor*-Tower, made an end with *Edward* the King's Son, for great Sums of Mony, and were delivered. It would have but little availed them, to have pleaded the Kings ſafe Conduct before ſent them under his Seal. 'Twas money it ſeems that muſt buy their Deliverance, Mony they had doubtleſs, and therefore 'tis mony they muſt produce, and ſo they were fain to do, or at leaſt agree to pay it, before they could get quit out of *Edwards* Power.

The 54th year began (according to the Chronicle) with ſo hard a froſt, that the frozen *Thames* was paſſable for men and Beaſts in diverſe places, and *Merchandize*

landize was thereupon brought to *London* by Land. This Froſt was not ſo prejudiaial to their Trading, but the riſing and flowing of *Thames* ſometime after was as injurious and hurtful about *London*, to the Drowning of Cellers by the waterſide, and ſpoiling of much Merchandize lying in them. But theſe are diſaſters we know Commonly happening in this tranſitory World, witneſs the late Inundations through the great Rains this Spring, and the damage ſuſtaind thereby in *Fleet-ditch*, *Hockly* in the *Hole*, and many other places. In this year about the beginning of Lent we find that the King gave the Rule of the City of *London* to his Son *Edward*, with all Revennes and Profits thereto belonging. Whereupon he made *Hugh* the ſon of *Orben* Conſtable of the Tower, and *Cuſtos* of the City, About the End of *April* he commanded the Citizens to preſent to him ſix Perſons able to be Sherifs; Of whom he admitted to that Office *William De Haddyſtoke*, and *Anketyl De Alvern*, and ſware them to be Accountants, as their Predeceſſors were. Theſe we read preſented in *May* following at the *Guild-Hall*, and there charged a new. At theſe days a new Cuſtom or Toll us'd to be paid the King by the Citizens, which having been let to farme to a Marchant Stranger by *Edward* the Kings Son for 20. Marks yearly, the Citizens unwilling to be under a Strangers Rule, upon great ſuit made to the ſame *Edward*, agreed with him to buy the ſaid Toll free for 2000 Marks.

In this year the King had granted towards his Voyage into the Holy Land (which was the name then uſually given to *Canaan* the Land of Promiſe, wherein our bleſſed *Saviour* was Crucified, to com-

plear

pleat the works of our Redemption) the twentieth penny of every mans Subſtance moveable through out the Land, of the lay fee, and of the Spirituality by the Pop's Aſſent three *Dyſmes* to be leived in three years. A politick pretence vſed in thoſe days to get mony, An invention ſomewhat ſuitable here unto have latter ages found out, and ſometimes as beneficial, *viz.* To pretend war with a neighbour Nation, and then get mony towards the raiſing an Army to carry it on. If they could afterwards compaſs to take mony on both ſides to lay it again, that was good advantage; but to get mony twice to disband it was double gain, Much about this time tis, that we read in *Stows Annals* of a *Quo Waranto* ſet on foot, at an Aſſembly of Nobles met at *London* by the Kings Command, where, by many, to their no ſmall trouble, were called before the Juſtices to ſhew by what right they held their Lands. But it was thought good afterwards, to ceaſe any further proſecution thereof, After that, *John Warren* Earl of *Surry*, (being demanded on that writ, what right he had to his Lands.) boldly drew out his Sword, and ſaid, that thereby he held his Grand-Fathers Lands, and by that would keep them, Wherein doubtleſs he would not have failed of many Powerful Abettors and aſſiſtants, had the Kings Juſtices too, rigorouſly proceeded in that affair. We find it coſt the Lord Cheif Juſtice of *Ireland Allen dela Zonch* his life, and the Earl only a ſumm of mony, notwithſtanding that he made that aſſault upon the other before the other Juſtices of the *Bench*. He having affirmed by the Oath of 25. Knights at *Winchester*, that he committed not that Fact upon any pretended malice, nor in contempt of the King. this was the Iſſue of the *Quo Warranto* in thoſe days.

Was

55 was the year, wherein my Author acquaints us, that the Citizens so well contented Prince *Edwards* mind, that he labour'd to the King his Father for them, and procur'd their Charter in such wise confirm'd, that they should after their Ancient Priviledges choose of themselves a Major and two Sheriffs, which Sheriffs were to have the Offices thereunto belonging to farm, as before had been accustomed, except that instead of 350 *l.* paid aforetimes, for the Fee-farm, they should then pay 450 *l.* But that a *quam diu placuerit* was then thought of, I don't find. After this Confirmation thus granted and pass'd by the Kings broad Seal, upon *July* the 14*th.* we find the Citizens assembled at *Guildhal*, where they chose for their Major, *John Adryan* Draper, and for Sheriffs *Walter Porter* and *John Taylor*: And upon the 16*th.* Presented them to the King, at *Westminster*, *Edward* being present, where they were admitted and Sworn, and *Hugh* Son of *Othon* discharg'd of the Rule of the City. Then the Citizens of their free Will (so writes *Fabian*) gave unto the King an 100 Marks, and to *Edward* 500 Marks, which the King well accepted. And soon after they receiv'd their Charter of Confirmation bearing date *July* 21*st.* and 55*th* of the Kings Reign.

The Annals of this year my Author ends with a sad misenance hapning in *London*, *viz.* The falling down of Saint *Mary Bow* Steeple in *Cheapside*, to the slaying of Women and Children.

In the next year 56 he gives us the Relation of an other unfortunate accident, that fell out in *Norwich*, through occasion of a fray between some Servants of the Monastery there standing, and some of the Citizens. This was carried on to such an height of violence and fury, that many of the Town were

wounded and ſlain, and the Abbey with all it's buildings, except a little Chappel, burnt down and deſtroyed. But this afterwards coſt the place the death of near upon 30 young Men of the Town, who were Indicted, Judg'd, Caſt, Hang'd and Burnt as Occaſioners and Executors of that Deed, to the great ſorrow of the Citizens, and ſo much the rather, for that they thought, the Prior of the place was the Occaſioner of all that miſchief, but he was born out, it ſeems, and defended by the Biſhop of *Norwich*. Hard medling in thoſe times with any of the Church-men, they were grown ſo powerful and high Creſted: What, deſtroy goods of the Church? hah! In days much later what a difference aroſe between Pope [P*aul* and Fum'd the Common-wealth of *Venice*, upon their Impriſoning an offending Church-man, guilty of no leſs an offence than Murder? The Thunderbolt of Excommunication had been but a ſmall matter, had his Popeſhip but had power to have vented his Rage in an higher manner. If the Romiſh Clergy ſo domineer over thoſe Countries, which have for many ages continued in Popery, can we Engliſhmen rationally hope to be free from their utmoſt revenge, if they can but once get ſuch an head over us, as they have long deſired and hop'd for? No, No, the thinking part of the Nation are all pretty well ſatisfied of their purpoſes, Plots, and deſigns. *Let* them do their worſt, gnaſh upon us with their teeth, and think to eat us up as bread: Let them begin a Maſſacre, if they durſt, as ſoon as they pleaſe, it's much but they'll find, to their coſt, free Engliſh Spirits in Engliſh bodies, who will not ſo eaſily be brought to their lure, as they may perhaps have fooliſhly perſwaded themſelves, from their converſe with a few debauch'd unthinking men amongſt us.

King

King *Henry* dyes in the 57*th.* year of his Reign, while his Son *Edward* was abſent in the holy Land: But upon notice hereof he returns for *England*, and in *Auguſt* comes to *London*, where of the Citizens he is received with all Joy and honour, and ſo conveyed to *Weſtminſter*. He had newly got for the Citizens their Priviledges reſtor'd in his Fathers days; let us now ſee how matters were carried in his Reign between the City and the Court. We ſhall find the City a powerful match ſtill, tho ſhe met with many troubles and Enemies, yet ſhe weather'd them out in ſpight of all attempts. In the ſecond year of this King *Edward* there was a great conteſt at *Guildhal* about the Major. Certain attempts we hear of made the year before by ſome of the Citizens, to have made ſuch a Major as they liſted, but being then diſappointed of their Acceſſaries, it was hinder'd for that time, but in this years beginning took further effect. On *Simon* and *Jude's* day, when *Philip le Taylor*, before choſen Major, ſhould have taken his charge at the *Guildhal*, divers Citizens put him beſide the Majors ſeat, and ſet therein Sir *Walter Harvy*, who the year before had been Major. This contention being brought before the King, upon hearing the reaſons of both parties, when he could not bring them to an agreement, he took occaſion to put both the Candidates aſide, and choſe *Henry Forwick* for Cuſtos of the City, who ſo continued for a time. So ready were ſome always to deprive the City of the uſe of her Liberties upon her Citizens diſagreement. But if ſuch was the effect of the Citizens conteſt, what then may we think of thoſe who purpoſely create thoſe differences, and ſtir up dangerous animoſities among them, upon ſlight, trivial, worn out pretences, that from the like cauſe

or occaſion the like effect may follow?

At *Candlemas*, by diſcreet and wiſe peaceable means, the forenamed Sir *Walter Harvy* was ſet in Authority as Major, and ſo remained the whole year after. In the third year the King confirmed the Liberties of the City, and granted ſome new.

Thus you ſee after a ſtorm comes fair weather. In this year we meet with a Relation concerning *Walter Harvy*, how that in the firſt year of this King, after long controverſy and ſtrife with the Aldermen, he was made Major of *London*, at a Folkmoot or Common-Hall at *Pauls*-Croſs, and ſo continued that year; but in this third year occaſion was found to remember, and (as the event ſeems to intimate) revenge it. For being accuſed of divers perjuries and other deteſtable deeds contrary to his Oath, for them and for making Aſſemblies of the Commons, who favour'd him, he was depriv'd of his Aldermanſhip, and turn'd out of the City Council for ever, and for keeping the Kings peace within the City for the term of his life, was bound to the good behaviour upon the ſuretiſhip of twelve perſons. 'Tis not unuſual for the Commonalty and heads of the City to be at difference each with other. Here's one, who ſeems a promoter of the Commons power, over-power'd himſelf by his Enemies, for making aſſemblies of the Commons, and other Crimes objected to him, true or feigned I know not, however thence was taken a pretence to thruſt him out of his former power. Theſe Folkmoots or Aſſemblies of the Commons ſeem to have been very unpleaſing to the chief Rulers of the City, and their power diſguſted, as may be gueſs'd from the fore-paſs'd tranſactions in King *Henry*'s days, where we may remember that the Commons were the men, who had

had power allotted them by the Parliament, at their Folkmoot or Common-hal, to grant the King Licence to depart out of the Land for a Seaſon: 'Twere they, who moſt firmly adher'd to the Barons ſtanding up in defence of thoſe Parliament Statues made at *Oxford*, but few of the chief Rulers of the City comparatively are noted to have appear'd openly in that fam'd conteſt of the Barons War.

In the fourth year occaſion was taken againſt *Michael Tony*, upon ſome demeaours of his in the *Welch* War, to accuſe him of Treaſon, of which he was arraign'd, judg'd and condemn'd, and after drawn, hang'd and quartered. This man doubtleſs had been a noted ſtickler in the Barons War, for I find one of that Name among the five perſons ſo long kept in Priſon in *Windſor* Tower after the Barons overthrow, till mony bought them out, as is before related. Princes once highly offended may openly profeſs to forgive the offending party, but they do not however ſo ſoon forget him. Tho *David* pardoned *Shimei* during his life, and ſwore to him not to put him to death with the Sword, yet as good a Man as he was, he charg'd his Son *Solomon* to bring down his hoary head to the grave with blood; and ſo accordingly we find an occaſion was afterwards taken by *Solomon* to revenge his former curſing his Father *David*, by commanding *Benaiah* who went out and fell upon him that he dyed. This year was the famous Statute of *Mortmain* firſt enacted, that no man ſhould give Lands or Rents to the Church without the Kings Special Licence, which Statute had afterwards many additions annext to it to make it the ſtronger. For the Lay-fee was in great danger to be devour'd by the Spiritualty, ſuch Arts did the Clergy uſe on mens minds to augment their power and Riches. Tho now

our Courts of Law are fixt at *Westminster*, yet in these Ancient times it was not so, for we read that this King in his sixth year remov'd his Courts of *Kings-Bench*, *Chancery*, *Common-Pleas* and *Exchequer*, to *Shrewsbury*, and afterwards return'd them back again, to the no small damage of the Records thus carried to and fro. This King held his Parliament at *London*, in his seventh year, for Reformation of his Coyn, much clip't and diminish'd. This storm fell chiefly upon the *Jews*, by reason of the Inquest charg'd in *London* to enquire of this matter. Whereupon were cast two hundred and ninety seven persons before the Major and other Justices sitting at *London*, and afterwards Executed at sundry times and places. My Author hath left upon Record, that among these there were but three Englishmen, all the rest were *Jews* or *Jews* born in *England*. Famous is the 12*th*. year for the Conquering and subjecting of *Wales* to the English Scepter, and division of it by King *Edward* into Shires, whereupon were ordain'd Sheriffs and other Officers therein, as were then us'd in *England*. *David* Brother to *Lewellyn*, late Prince of *Wales*, who was condemned to be drawn hang'd and quarter'd, as a chief stirrer and beginner of the *Welsh* War, in time of a Parliament held at *Shrewsbury*, was shortly after Executed, and his head sent to *London* to be set by his Brothers, which had been order'd to be plac'd the year before on *London-Tower*. In this year was *Edward* of *Carnarvan* born, the first of our English Kings, since *William* the first, that I read of publickly unking'd, and depos'd by his own Subjects. The great Conduit standing against Saint *Thomas* of *Acres* in *Cheapside* owes his foundation to this year.

The 13*th*. year may be noted for the Kings seizing

ing the Franchiſes and Liberties of *London* into his own hands, on the day kept in Memory of Saint *Pauls* Converſion, ſo that he diſcharged the Major *Gregory Rokiſle*, and admitted for Cuſtos or Guardian of the City, *Stephen Sandewich*, who continued till the *Monday* following the Purification of the Virgin *Mary*, when being diſcharg'd, Sir *John Breton* ſtands upon Record charg'd for the reſidue of the year. My Author writes that the cauſe of this diſpleaſure, the King bore to the City, is not ſhewn of a certainty. He mentions an old Pamphlet, whereby it appears that the Major took bribes of the Bakers, and ſuffer'd them to ſell bread lacking ſix ounces in a penny Loaf, for which the King was ſore diſpleaſed, but to him this ſeem'd no convenient cauſe, that the Liberties of the City ſhould be ſeiz'd for one man's offence: Wherefore he rather ſuppoſeth it was for a more grievous cauſe. However it is obſervable from Hiſtory, that it was a Common thing in Elder times to ſeize the Cities Charters on pretences ſlight enough of any ſenſe, till the Citizens grew ſo wiſe, as at convenient ſeaſons to procure new grants and graces, to prevent ſuch ſeizures for the future: And that it is not ſtill ſo feaſable and practicable, is the grief, I believe, and heart-burning of ſome in the world.

The 14*th.* year of this King may be accounted famous for the Statutes, called *Additamenta Glouceſtriæ*, made at a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*. But in theſe preſent papers I think it may be more noted, for what I am going now to relate *verbatim* out of *Fabian*. In this year a Citizen of *London*, Named *Thomas Pynvelyſdon*, (the which in the time of the Barons War, before in the ſtory of King *Henry* ſhew'd, had been a Captain and a great ſtirrer of the Commons of the ſaid City, for to maintain

the Baron's party againſt the Kings,) was newly accuſed, that he, with others of evil diſpoſition, ſhould make Conventicles and Aſſemblies to the new diſturbance of the City, whereof Report was made unto the King, the which remitted the inquiry thereof unto Sir *Ralph Sandewyeh*, then Cuſtos or Guardian of the City. Then the ſaid *Thomas* with others was put in ſure keeping, till the matter was duly enquired of. After which Inquiſition made and found, report was made unto the King. Then the King ſent down a Writ, and commanded it to be proclaimed ſhortly after within the bounds of the City, whereof the Effect was thus, that the ſaid *Thomas Pywelyſdon*, *William de Heywood*, *Richard de Coundris*, *Richard le Cofferre*, *Robert de Derby*, *Albyne de Darby*, *William Mayo* Mercer, and *Ivo Lyng* Draper, with divers others, to the number of fifty Perſons, ſhould be baniſhed out of the City for ever. And if any of the ſaid fifty eight Perſons were at that time of the Proclamation voided the City, for fear or otherwiſe, that they ſhould ſo remain, and not return unto the City upon pain of Life loſing. Theſe being thus diſcarded, and exiled the City, who it may be would have ſtood firm to the City's old Liberties and Priviledges, the reſt of the Chief remaining might perchance hope the eaſier to keep the Commons in aw, whatſoever new Cuſtoms they ſhould introduce for their own lucre and advantage, tho to other men's dammage. Here you may perceive, how jealous Governours are of all Meetings and Aſſemblies, but what are of their own conſtitution and ordering. The Caviliers doubtleſs can relate many Stories of their own experience hereof in *Olivers* days. Neither are many of our Coffee-houſes, and Club-meetings (I believe) very grate-

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ſal to ſome perſons in the World, though their open buſineſs there is moſtly to drink, ſmoke, talk, trade and the like. By the aforeſaid relation we may likewiſe obſerve; Once counted an Offender and ever thought ſo. Here *Thomas Pywеldon* or *Pywelyſdon* (for his name I find diverſly Written, though the ſame man be meant) a noted man in the Barons War, for which he had ſuffered deeply after their overthrow, by long impriſonment, and the charge of redeeming his Liberty for a great Sum of money of this ſame King *Edward*, then only Prince, was nevertheleſs, after about ſixteen years reſpite, baniſhed the City for ever, on an accuſation of attempting a new diſturbance. That any thing was prov'd againſt him, I have not read, beſides the mention here of making Aſſemblies or Meetings. Had there been any thing material found againſt him, I ſcarce believe he ſhould have ſcap't ſo well with his Life, ſeeing old Crimes ſeem to have been remembred, though new faults were pretended. An Act of Oblivion is a very good Plaiſter in a publique Univerſal Offence. But whatever Offender of Note, thus pardoned, out-lives the greateſt number of thoſe qually reputed guilty with him, and times be ſo much turned, that the ballance of the Nation leans very much on the governing ſide, I think that man's life hangs but by a very ſlender thread, whoſe ſafety and ſecurity depends only upon Pen, Ink, and Paper, and not upon the Governours natural inclination to juſtice and honeſty, in the conſtant keeping and obſerving of his word and promiſe. When in the late Wars on this ſide the World, *Meſſina* in *Sicily* was reduc'd under the Spaniſh government, by the French's forſaking it, to whom the *Meſſineſes* had before ſubjected themſelves, tho a general pardon was by the Spaniards publickly granted,

granted, whereupon many return'd to the City yet, if my memory deceive me not, there paſſed no long time, before the publick news told us of the accuſing and (I think) condemning of a Principal Man of that City, for a new endeavour to ſtir up another Rebellion and Revolt therein. New accuſations and new offences pretended, how unlikely ſoever, may ſometimes ſerve to blind the unthinking vulgar Herd, but a man of thought doubtleſs will be apt to ſuſpect, that the old grudge lies at the bottom. How eaſy and uſual it is to ſuborn falſe Witneſſes againſt a Man, *Jezabels* practice, and the endeavour of the Chief Prieſts, Elders, and Council of a much later date may inform a Proteſtant Reader, if he hath no experience in the world to inſtruct him.

The Citizens were accuſtom'd, before this year, to make good advantage to themſelves by lodging Merchant ſtrangers, and ſelling their Merchandize for them, for which they received ſo much in the pound. But at this time, by means of thoſe Merchant ſtrangers, it was brought to paſs, that they hired Houſes for themſelves and their Wares, ſo that no Citizen ſhould intermeddle with them, which was to the damage of many particular private men, as well as to the hindrance of the Kings Cuſtom, and prejudicial (as affirms the Book) to the Realm in general by many deceits and frauds uſed by them. Here was a new Cuſtom diſadvantagious to many of the Citizens introduc'd, but for what reaſon at firſt permitted, whether to advance Trade by drawing more Forreigners to the City, or elſe to weaken their power, and bring down lower the Citizens high ſtomachs, by cutting off ſome of their gain, and parting their Trade with others, I pretend not to deliver, until I meet with

with better Information my ſelf, than hitherto I have in the point. Certain it is from the ſtory, that the King much advantag'd himſelf by ſearching into their fraudulent and deceitful dealings, and puniſhing them for thoſe offences by a conſiderable fine. The 15*th.* year was chargeable to the *Jews*, who were fain to pay great ſums of mony to the King, which they were aſſeſſed at, ſaith the Chronicle; but out of an other Author it is recorded, that the Commons of *England* granted to the King the fifth part of their movables, to have the *Jews* baniſhed out of the Land, which to prevent, the *Jews* of their own Wills gave the King great ſums of mony. Here then was taking mony of both ſides: A ſubtle Court way of Trading. This year there was ſuch a plenty of Wheat, that (according to my Authors Computation) it was ſold at *London* for Ten Groats the Quarter, five pence the Buſhel: But the next year, through diſtemperature of the weather, we find the price raiſed up to 14 *d.* the Buſhel, after to 18 *d.* and encreaſing yearly during this Kings Reign and his Sons, ſo that it ſtands upon Record to be ſold at laſt for 40 *s.* the Quarter and above. The 18*th.* may be remark'd by us for the Kings Honourable reception at *London*, and the puniſhment of divers offending Juſtices, Sir *Thomas Weyland*, *Adam Stretton* and others, who being by the Kings order Examined, and found guilty of the Treſpaſſes laid to their Charge, were either out-law'd and loſt their goods, or elſe long Impriſoned and deeply Fin'd. A large Catalogue of them and their Fines are to be ſeen in *Stows Annals*, whence 'tis obſervable how ſuddainly vengeance over-takes Oppreſſors, let them be never ſo Rich, High, and Mighty in Office, Power, or Authority, as ſoon as ever the Kings mind is

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inſpir'd from above to inſpect their actions, and puniſh their crimes. Remarkable is the *19th.* Year for the *Jews* Baniſhment, which we find bought of the King by the Commons at the price of a Fifteen.

In the *21ſt* year we hear of a Parliament held at *London*, and of the King of *Scot's* coming thither with divers of his Lords. The puniſhment inflicted on three men, for reſcuing a Priſoner from an Officer belonging to the Sheriffs of *London*, by ſtriking off their right hands at the wriſt in *Cheapſide*, is noted for one of this years actions. Hence let us leap to the *24th.* year, and there, among that years deeds, we find mention made of a new ſubſidy, levied by the King upon Wool, going out of *England*, Fels, and Hides, for his War with the *French* King; of his Commanding the Mony, before granted by the Clergy towards the defence of the Holy Land, to be brought into his Treaſury, upon the Report he had from *Rome* of Pope *Boniface* the *8ths* manners; of the grant he got of the Clergy of half their Spiritual and Temporal Lands, from a Benefice of 20 Marks and upwards, to be paid in three years: And of the Tax he had alſo granted him by the Lay-fee, *viz.* the Tenth penny of their movables to be paid in two years time. If any one be deſirous to certifie himſelf, what Relation *Scotland* ſtood in towards *England* for many ages before, let him read through the Relation of this years actions in *Fabian's* Chronicle, and there he may be ſatisfied, if it will conduce to his ſatisfaction, to find, that *Scotland*, even in Elder times, in a ſort depended on *England*, and was ſo far from giving Laws, or an Example and Patern thereto, that it's Nobles were fain to ſubmit themſelves to the King of *England's* Judgment and decree, and do him Homage and Fealty in effect

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by the ſubmiſſion of their King, whom King *Edward* had appointed and ſet over them. Memorable is the ſix and twentieth year, for that therein the Londoners obtain'd of King *Edward* (newly come from beyond Sea into *England* and ſo to *Winchester*) a grant of their Liberties and Franchiſes, which had in ſome part been kept from them by the term of twelve years and more, ſo that they again choſe a Major of themſelves, whereas in the aforeſaid time their Cuſtos or Guardian was appointed by the King, or by ſuch as the King would aſſign. But we are to underſtand by the Chronicle, that this was not redeem'd without a great Sum of money. Some Writers it ſeems fixing it at three thouſand marks. As this King had many Wars, eſpecially with *Scotland*, which put him to great charges, and had much money granted him by his Subjects, ſo he ceaſed not to deviſe other ways to raiſe more, and get what was denied him. For as much as divers men, richly benefic'd in the Land, refus'd to aid him with their Goods, as others had, and for that end had purchaſed from the Pope an Inhibition, that they and their goods ſhould be free from the King's Taxes, he put them this year out of his protection, a ſtrain of State policy beyond ſome other Kings, and ſeis'd their Temporalties, permitting them to enjoy their Spiritualties, till they agreed with him. Though this was a warlike Prince, and oft ſucceſsful in his undertakings, yet the Clergy's power ſo over-top't the Laity's, that he choſe rather to make uſe of his Wits, than his Arms in dealing with them. So have I read in *William* the Second's days, how when his Unkle, being both a Biſhop and an Earl, grew troubleſome to him, he ſeis'd upon the Earl

and

and clapt him in hold, whereby he caught and revenged himſelf on the Biſhop too, without openly pretending to meddle with a Clergy Man. An offence eſteem'd piacular in thoſe days; to ſuch an height of Pride were the Popiſh Clergy grown. An other practice of King *Edward*, was his ſuddain Condemning certain Coines of Mony call'd *Pollards*, *Crocardes* and *Roſaries*, in his twenty ſeventh year, and cauſing them to be brought to a new Coynage to his great advantage, as teſtifies the Hiſtorian. Among others may be alſo numbred that Inquiſition, he caus'd to be made throughout the Land in the twenty eighth year, which was after nam'd *Trailbaſton*. This we find made upon Officers, as Majors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Eſcheators and many others, who had misborn themſelves in their Offices, and had us'd Extortion, or treated the people otherwiſe than was according to the order of their Offices. So vigilant appeared this Prince, and careful of his people, that they might not be abuſed nor oppreſſed by their fellow Subjects, when got into power, under pretence of being his Majeſties Officers, a thing we know common enough in the world.

In the twenty eighth year, we have mention made of the City of *London*'s Splendor and Magnificence, upon the account of their receiving the new Queen *Margaret*, Siſter to the *French* King. Thus runs my Authors ſhort Relation hereof. The Citizens to the number of ſix hundred Rode in one Livery of Red and White, with the Cognizance of divers Miſteries broidered upon their ſleeves, and received her four Miles without the City, and ſo conveyed her through the City, which then was garniſhed and hanged with Tapeſtry, and Arras, and other Cloths of Silk, and

Riches

Riches in moſt goodly wiſe, unto *Weſtminſter*. This is the year, wherein *Fabian* makes the firſt mention of *Pierce* of *Gaviſton* in his Chronicle, upon Occaſion of the Biſhop of *Cheſters* complaining to the King of him, his Eldeſt Son *Edward*, and others, for breaking the Biſhops Park, and riotouſly deſtroying the Game therein. For this was the aforeſaid *Edward* and his Accomplices Impriſoned. So that under this famous King, the very next Heir apparent ſcap'd not the Laſh of the Law, when he had offended, even to an actual Impriſonment; ſo far were men in thoſe days from aſſerting him to be above the Law, and not Lyable to condign puniſhment, becauſe the next Heir. Afterwards the King Baniſhed the aforeſaid *Gaviſton* out of *England*, for fear leſt he ſhould debauch his Son: But this Baniſhment was after his death annulled by his Son *Edward*, when King, to the great trouble and vexation of the Land afterwards. The twenty ninth may be eſteemed not unworthy of remark, for the Kings giving to *Edward* his Son the Principality of *Wales*, whereunto he likewis'd joyn'd the Earldom of *Cornwal*, newly Vacant, and return'd to the Crown.

In the 33*d*. year we read of the taking, arraigning, drawing, hanging, and quartering of *William Waleys*, who, of an unknown low birth, became the head Leader of the *Scots* againſt the Kings Power, and had Created him no little trouble in *Scotland*, but now in revenge was his head ſet upon *London-Bridge*, and his four quarters ſent into *Scotland* to be ſet upon the Gates of ſome Towns in that Land. About this time we hear likewiſe of ſeveral Nobles of *Scotland* coming to the Kings Parliament, at *Weſtminſter*, and there voluntarily Sworn,

Sworn, in the Presence of the King and his Lords, to be true to the King of *England*, and to keep the said Land to his use against all other Persons. Among these is named *Robert le Bruce*, who not long after sends to the Pope for a dispensation of his Oath, raises more Commotions in *Scotland*, and gets to be Crowned King thereof at Saint *Johnstons : Anno* Thirty four. But when King *Edward* had overthrown the *Scots* Army, and taken many of the Nobles, he sent the Bishop of Saint *Andrews*, and *Bastoon*, with the Abbot of *Scoon*, to the Pope, with report of their Perjury, and how they were taken Armed in the field to shed the blood of Christian men. And the Temporal Lords he sent into *England* to the *Tower* of *London*, who were afterwards Arraigned at *London*, and put to death, and their Heads set upon *London-Bridge*. The longest Sword carries away the Bell. If the *Scots* had prevail'd in the like sort against King *Edward*, it's a question whether they would not have done much after the same manner. How would they have then vaunted themselves and their Cause for the most rightful, whereas being Conquer'd they suffer'd as Rebels? That the weakest goes to the Wall, is a known saying. Yet as strong, powerful, and successful as this King *Edward* was, we find he cared not to meddle himself with the Spiritual Lords taken in the field fighting against him, but rather chose publikely to send them to the Pope, with an high offence laid to their charge, to be punished at his pleasure. Whereby we may presume he gratified the Popes Ambition, in making him as it were the sole Judge of their offences, and yet thereby doubtless sufficiently secur'd himself against those men of the Church, his late Enemies, for the future. Could the Pope in Civility and

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Gratitude refuse to revenge the King, in punishing these Clergy-men for fighting against him, who had thus highly mounted the power, and Authority of the Triple Crown above his own, in this matter, to the publick view of the world? If the Popish Clergy in those times were grown so formidable, that this Triumphant King, in the midst of his Victorious Arms, thought it safer to remit these Clergy-men's offences to the Popes Correction, than punish them himself, (for I think it was policy more than zeal that made him act thus) what weak matches were the other Puny Princes to them in those days of their worldly Prosperity Pomp and Grandeur? Now their wings are pretty well clipt, by the escape of so many people, Nations, and Countries out of this Popish House of Bondage, let Crowned Heads and free States be careful, that they suffer not the Popes wings to grow again, or permit their Sworn Vassals the Jesuits to imp them anew with fresh Feathers, lest they mount up again over their heads to their Ancient greatness, or take a flight higher than ever they did. Now the *French* King through the base connivance of some, others Treachery, and many great Mens careless negligence, is become *Europe's* Terror, if Popish Plots and designs should once so far take effect, as treacherously to deprive our present King of his life and Crown, and introduce a Popish Successor into the English Throne, how far they might in time proceed towards the extirpation of that pestilent Northern Heresy (as Mr. *Coleman* out of his Extraordinary kindness to the Religion, from which he himself apostaliz'd, has been pleased to term the Protestant Religion) out of these parts of the world, I submit to the better Judgments of more able Politicians.

Haſt we now hence from this *Edward* the firſt (who died in the five and thirtieth year of his Reign, after a charge given to his Son in divers points upon his bleſſing, and Oaths taken of ſome of his chief Nobles to keep the Land for his Sons uſe, and to Crown him King as ſoon as they conveniently could after his death, at *Burgh*, upon the Sands beyond *Carlile*, in his return into *England*) unto *Edward* the Second, where I could find matter enough to exerciſe my Pen, were I minded to deſcribe all the diſorders and troubles, that hapned throughout the Land, under his unproſperous Reign. We need not wonder, that this Prince met with ſo unhappy a fate at his End, when as we find him at the very beginning immediately tranſgreſſing his dead Fathers commands, by recalling *Gaveſton* from his Baniſhment, (contrary to his Father's charge on his Death Bed, he entailing his curſe on him, if he ſhould preſume it, as *Stow* tells us) governing himſelf wholly by his advice, affecting him ſo much, as to affirm, that he ſhould ſucceed him in the Kingdom, if he could effect it. If I ſhould endeavour perfectly to delineate the many Croſſes, Loſſes, Battails, and Bloodſhed, that fell out in the Land under this King, and to Write in a ſtile and manner ſuitable to the matter, I know not but I might well dip my Pen in Blood inſtead of Ink, ſuch were the misfortunes of the Land, and unfortunate fates of many Noblemen thereof. For in his Reign there were Beheaded and put to death by Judgment upon the number of eight and twenty Barons and Knights, (as *Fabian* Computes) beſides the Noble men ſlain in *Scotland*; The number whereof one Author expreſſes to amount to two and forty, beſides ſixty and ſeven Knights and Barronets; and two and twenty men

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over that of name taken in that one Battel of *Bannocksborn*. Unſteadfaſtneſs of manners, and vileneſs of Conditions, the refuſing the Company of Lords and men of honour, and haunting the Society of Villains and vile Perſons: The being given to great drinking, and lightly diſcovering therein things of great Counſel, with many other diſallowable Conditions related by Hiſtorians, were blots in this Kings Scutcheon. Scarce was old *Edwards* Obſequies fully finiſhed, according to my Author, but the young King ſends in all haſt for his old Companion *Piers* of *Gaveſton*, receiving him with all joy and gladneſs, and advances him to much honour, gives him the Earldom of *Cornwal* and Lordſhip of *Wallingford*, rules all by his wanton Councel, and follows the appetite and pleaſure of his body, not guiding things by order of Law or Juſtice. Then he Revenges himſelf, and his favourite *Gaveſton*, on the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, (who had before complained of them and their Outrages in his Fathers Reign) by commanding him to the *Tower* of *London*, and keeping him there ſtrictly many days after. When by the means, motions, and words of many potent Lords of the Realm, *Gaveſton* was again ſent out of the Land, though contrary to the King's pleaſure, and baniſh'd into *Ireland*: Yet thither we hear of the Kings ſending him oftentimes ſecret Meſſengers, and comforting him with many rich gifts, and the next year we read of his being fetch'd home again to ſtill the grudges ſpringing up between the King and his Nobles, and continue amity amongſt them, which prov'd but ſo much the more miſchievous to the Realm: For this exorbitant Favourite's power more and more encreaſing, he, having the keeping of the Kings Treaſure and Jewels, convey'd

many of them, ſome of great value, out of the Land, and brought the King by means of his wanton Conditions to manifold Vices, as Adultery and others, whereupon by the Lords Counſel and Reſolution taken at *Lincoln*, he was ſhortly after exil'd into *Flanders* to the Kings great diſpleaſure. In comes *Gaveſton* again, though he had before abjur'd the Realm, with this condition by the Barons added, that if he were found again in any Lands ſubject to the King's dominions, he ſhould be taken as a Common Enemy and Condemned. But being recall'd by the King, he ventures on his favour, and afterwards demeans himſelf worſe and worſe. In ſo much that we read, that he diſdain'd the Lords of *England*, and of them had many ſpiteful and ſlanderous words, ſo that there's the leſs wonder, that the Queen and the whole Court were ſorrowful, becauſe they ſaw the King (as *Stow* words it) not very ſound, ſo great was his Joy and Jollity for his receiving him in ſafety. Whereupon the Lords of one mind (ſaith my Author) conſented to put him to death, which they ſoon after effected by taking the Caſtle wherein he was, and ſo having him in their hands ſmote off his Head. For this was the King grievouſly diſpleas'd with thoſe Lords, and vow'd, we hear, to revenge his Death, ſo that after this he ſought occaſion againſt them, to grieve and diſpleaſe them. If the foremention'd diſorders, with many before expreſs'd by Authentick Writers to have fallen out under this King: If Treachery, Robberies, Rapes, Extortions, Diviſions, Civil diſcords at home, ſlights, contempts, and loſſes abroad, and much blood-ſhed in Battels, fought and loſt, both at home and abroad: If murrain of Beaſts and ſcarcity of Grain, dearneſs of Victuals

ctuals, ſickneſs and mortality of Men, ravages and outrages of cruel inſulting Enemies, and almoſt a general deſolation, in ſeveral places of the Land, be glories, that can eternize a Man's memory to ſucceeding Generations, I know not whether this Kings Name and Reign may ever be forgotten, as long as *England* ſtands a fixt Iſland in the midſt of the Ocean. In the midſt of theſe troubles and croſſes, you are not to ſuppoſe, the City of *London* ſcap't free from partaking in the Common miſery of the Land. In the firſt of this King's Reign, I find that he, and his new Married Bride were received joyfully by the Citizens, and ſo conveyed to *Weſtminſter*, but the times afterwards grew ſo cloudy, and full of ſtorms, that I don't think they had over much reaſon to rejoyce, more than the reſt of their poor diſtreſſed fellow Subjects. Yet Providence in good time delivered the City out of theſe troubles, and with advantage too, as may be obſerved and remark't in the end of this, and beginning of the next Kings Reign. Twice more particularly, in this Kings Reign, do we read of a breach made on the Cities Priviledges, by conſtraining the Citizens, at their own charges, to raiſe and maintain a certain number of Soldiers, and ſend them whether they were appointed, but the laſt time, it ſeems, it was conditionally, that it ſhould not be made a Preſident, which poſſibly was to appeaſe them, when they refuſed to go out of the City to fight, unleſs they might according to their liberties (as *Stow* ſays) return home again the ſame day before Sun-ſet. For 'tis plain, how great ſoever their reſpect was towards their Soveraign, that they had no great kindneſs for ſome about him: And therefore, when aid and aſſiſtance was requeſted of them againſt the Queen,

who with her Son *Edward* was newly Landed, and pretended Reformation of abuſes, they made this plea or excuſe, as favouring rather Reformers than makers of Grievances, yet with profeſſion of due obedience and Honour to the King, the Queen, and their Son, who was after his Father the Right and Lawful Heir to the Crown.

At the Parliament of *Whitebands*, held in the twelfth of this King, whether the Barons came in Arms, the Citizens were the Keepers of the Kings peace in the City; a thouſand of them well Armed, by the Majors order, watching by day, and as many by night, in divers Wards, and at ſeveral Gates thereof, under the inſpection of two Aldermen, with Officers aſſigned to Ride about every night to overſee them, and the reſt of the Citizens were enjoyned to have their Arms in readineſs upon a very ſhort warning for more ſurety. And what pray now was the effect of all this, but that the peace was kept, the City guarded it, and no diſturbance hapned that I read of, notwithſtanding there was ſo great an Army then on foot? Ill men were removed, ſeveral things were ordained for the good of the Realm, Tranſactions were carried on without violence, or blood-ſhed, the Parliament was peaceably diſſolved, and every one returned home in quietneſs, ſafety and ſecurity. But on the contrary, afterwards, in the later end of this Kings Reign, when the Courtiers were much diſguſted in the City, by reaſon of many violences committed, and much harſh dealing uſed by ſome towards their fellow Subjects, in the time of their power, under the wings of Authority, and pretence of Law and Juſtice, the Citizens were ſo far from keeping the

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King's peace, as before, that they ſoon ſhew'd openly their favour, good will, and kindneſs for the Queen, who, under the glozing pretence of reforming the ill Government, was come into the Land with a conſiderable force of Soldiers, and had ſent to the Mayor and Commonalty for their aid, help, and aſſiſtance in carrying on this her pretended Reformation; A work generally highly acceptable to all ſuch, as think themſelves oppreſſed, and glorious in the Eyes of the people; but ſuch is the miſery, fate, and infelicity, the frailty and imperfection incident to all ſublunary attempts, that it very ſeldom, if ever, fully anſwers the expectation of every one concern'd. Neither was the Citizens affection to the Queen, and her Party, barely ſhewn in words and expreſſions, but it went much farther, and was publickly brought into Act by beheading ſuch, as they took to be the Queens enemies, not ſo much as ſparing the Biſhop of *Exeter* himſelf, a great man among the ſpiritualty, who had been there left by the King to have the Rule of the City in his abſence. The occaſion is ſaid to have ſprung from his ſtiff and peremptory demanding of the Keys of the City Gates by vertue of his Commiſſion, which highly exaſperated the Commons againſt him, and ſo much the more, becauſe (as was the ſaying) he had rais'd an Army to withſtand the Queen, a fault then thought unpardonable by the Londoners, who in words and deeds eſpouſed the Queen's Cauſe, ſeis'd on the *Tower* of *London*, and kept it for the Queens uſe, and not long afterwards received her into their City with great Joy and Honour. A demonſtrative evidence in my opinion of the City's ſtrength and power. For if *London*, when ſhe pleas'd, could maintain the King's peace in the midſt of

Arms (as was ſhewn above) ſo inviolably, as that none dar'd in oppoſition to break it, and afterwards, in the very ſame age, and within the compaſs of half a dozen years, did actually aſſert the Queens cauſe, and aſſiſt her in her proceedings (as was pretended) for Reformation of the Realm, tho the Conſequence thereof was in truth the unfortunate Kings reſignation, what greater inſtance can there be, to ſhew her great influence upon the whole Nation in thoſe unſetled times?

London having ſo viſibly appeared in favour of the Queen, the Prince, and his party, and contributed ſo much towards this notable revolution of affairs, we have no reaſon to think, but that, out of Common gratitude, her Citizens were to be aboundantly rewarded, and that they themſelves, out of ſelf intereſt and natural Prudence, would ſo well and wiſely look to their own affairs, as to make hay while the Sun ſhines, to the procuring new grants and Graces, and ſo accordingly we find the event. For in the firſt year of *Edward* the third, *Fabian* tells us, he confirmed the Liberties and Franchizes of the City, making the Major Chief Juſtice in all places of Judgment within the ſame, next the King, every Alderman, that had been Major, Juſtice of Peace in *London* and *Middleſex*, and ſuch, as had not been, Juſtice in his own Ward: Granting them alſo the Fee-farm of *London* for three hundred pounds, and that they ſhould not be conſtrained to go out of the City to fight, or defend the Land for any need. A priviledge greater, than what was claimed, as their liberty, in his Fathers days, when unwilling to engage againſt the Queen and Prince, they refuſed not to go out, on condition of returning the ſame day, as is related before. But the

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moſt beneficial of all the grants was, that the Franchiſes of the City ſhould not be ſeized into the Kings hands, but only for Treaſon or Rebellion done by the whole City. It having before been a Common thing to have their Liberties ſeized on, (as hath been plainly manifeſted in the Precedent Relation) on almoſt every petty diſguſt, conceived by the Court againſt them, were it but for the pretended offence of a particular Officer, or for mony alledged to be owing by the City to ſome great ones at Court, or ſome ſuch like ſmall trivial pretence. But now at this time they took ſuch care, to have their Liberties ſetled and ſecured by this Royal Grant, that it may be thought almoſt, if not wholly, a thing impoſſible for the City to forfeit her Charter, and have it juſtly, according to that grant, taken from her. The bringing of *Southwark* under the Rule of the City, and the power allowed their Major to appoint ſuch a Bailiff there, as liked him beſt, was a very advantagious favour, at the ſame time, by this King *Edward* beſtowed on *London*, but not comparable with the former grant, which may moſt deſervedly be eſteemed Paramount to all others. A particular Officer may offend, and oftentimes does, nay many may; but for a City, a whole City, ſo great and glorious a City, as *London*, Traiterouſly to Rebel, and ſo forfeit all her Liberties, Priviledges, and Franchiſes at one clap, ſeems to me ſo great a contradiction, as to imply little leſs than an Impoſſibility in Nature, not to go a ſtep or two higher.

This King being one of the moſt powerful Princes of his time, and in the ſtrength of his age very ſucceſsful in his Wars againſt the French King, 'tis not for us haſtily to imagine, there was any occaſion given for ſo wiſe and good a King to con-

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teſt with his Subjects, much leſs with his Loyal Citizens. We are rather to expect to hear of the City's Triumphs and glory, the Joy and rejoyceing, wherewith ſhe often received her Victorious King returning Conquerour from *France*, the frequent Juſtings, Tiltings, and Tournaments ſhewn thereat for his Recreation and entertainment, the Wealth, Riches, and Ability of her head-Officers, (whereof one, to *Londons* great glory, is ſaid to have ſumptuouſly feaſted four Kings at once, in the thirty firſt of this Kings Reign, beſides the famous Black Prince, many Noble Knights and others, to whom with the King he gave many Rich Gifts) the ſplendor of the Citizens in general on publick occaſions, and the harmonious concord of all in their own private and particular concerns, relating more eſpecially to the Cities good order and Government. This King may be ſuppoſed too great and too good, either to create, or to permit differences and diſcord at home. He had wherewithal to exerciſe his Wiſdom and valour abroad in forreign Countries, and ſuch ſucceſs too in his Enterprizes, as might make him, both feared, and beloved, by his Subjects, at one and the ſame time. Yet notwithſtanding, ſuch ſtill was *Londons* power, ſtrength, and reſolution to maintain her Liberties, that this Victorious Prince, Conquerour over others, having ſent out Juſtices into the Shires, to make enquiry about his Officers offences, and delinquences, and the City of *London* not ſuffering (as *Stow* tells us) any ſuch Officers to ſit, as Juſtices, in their City, as Inquiſitors of ſuch matters, contrary to their Liberties, he thought good rather to appoint thoſe Juſtices their Seſſions in the *Tower*, for Inquiſition of the damages of the *Londoners*, and they refuſing, unleſs conditionally,

tionally, to anſwer there, and a tumult thereupon ariſing among the meaner ſort, claiming their Liberties, he eſteemed it greater prudence, to wave the Juſtices ſitting, as to that place, and forgive all offences, than to enter into a conteſt with ſuch powerful, tho Loyal Subjects, as the *Londoners* were, and ſuch undaunted aſſertors of their own rights, priviledges, franchiſes and liberties. For as'tis plain the City was very potent, ſo we may, as certainly perhaps, conclude the Citizens no leſs ſuſpicious of any thing done, under the ſhadow of this Kings Authority, if but looking towards the leaſt breach of their Priviledges, as the Commons of *England* in general ſeem to have appeared jealous of their Common liberty, when, upon this Kings laying claim to the Kingdom of *France*, they procured a Law, whereby it was enacted, that the King ſhould not Rule *England* as King of *France*, and ſo Subject them to the inſolencies of a fellow-Subjects Deputyſhip.

Would you know, what eſteem and reſpect the houſe of Commons, in this King's reign, had for the City? Look in *Cotton's* abridgment of the Records in the *Tower*, and there you may find the Commons, ever and anon, petitioning the King, that the City of *London* may enjoy all her Liberties, and the King's Anſwers generally to ſuch petitions ſeem rather to grant, than deny, ſuch their important Requeſts. So glorious and gracious did the City appear in the ſight of the good people of the Land, or rather ſuch was the influence ſhe had upon the Nations repreſentatives. As to the Common's Deſires, that all the Counties might conform themſelves to the Weights and Meaſures made in *London*, and the order there made againſt Uſury might be obſerved throughout the Realm, as if they would have this

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ſo famous a City more particularly give Law, as well as example, to all *England*, I paſs them over, without pretending from thence to draw an Argument of the City's Grandeur; and likewiſe Wave the priviledg, by this King, granted the Citizens, that the Officers of the Mayor, and Sheriffs ſhould, from that day forward, uſe Maces of Silver parcel gilt, as not intending to inſiſt thereon, as a more eſpecial mark of honour deſign'd the City above the reſt of the Nation in thoſe days; And chooſe rather to paſs on to the laſt part of this King's reign, wherein, I muſt needs acknowledge, there was a ſtrong, though ſhort, conteſt between the King and the Court. But when was that, and how hapned it? 'Twas when the King was grown old, near to dotage, after his good Queen *Philippa* was dead, and he himſelf, amidſt the Infirmities of ſickneſs and old age, indulg'd his own luſtful pleaſures in the laſcivious Embraces of a wanton Miſs, leaving the guidance of his Realm, and all things about him, to ſo ambitious a ſpirit, as, under the Wings of his Authority, durſt aſpire ſo high as to the hopes of the Crown, againſt the good Will of the people, and the Title of a perſon much more affected and beloved at *London*. The conteſt was ſhort and ſharp, as may be ſeen in *Stows* Annals, where it is plac'd in the fifty firſt, *i. e.* the laſt year of the Kings Reign: So ſhort, as not taking up the whole ſpace of time, between *Chriſtmas* and the latter part of *June*, wherein the King died; and yet ſo ſharp, that the Cities Priviledges were in great danger, menaces there were of depoſing the Major, (which was at length actually done,) and of Creating a Captain in his Room, with many other things threatned againſt their Liberties: And all by the arts, devices, and contrivances of the aſpiring Uncle,

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who would fain have mounted up into the Throne of the Kingdom, over his young Nephews head, but that the *Londoners* oppoſed him in his deſigns, both honourably, and ſucceſsfully too. So far were they from being Hector'd, or trapan'd, into a baſe Compliance with this Ambitious pretender, and his flattering favourites deſires, who thought to have carried all before 'em, becauſe they eſteem'd themſelves ſure of the Kings Authority, and ſo lookt upon the principals of the oppoſite party, if not under a Cloud, at leaſt under a great diſadvantage comparatively, ſuch were their fond hopes and pretenſions.

In the good Parliament, (as it was commonly called) held in the fiftieth of this Kings Reign, ſeveral Reformations had been made, and divers, at the Commons ſuit, remov'd from about the King, as evil Counſellors, by the Mediation of the Black-Prince; but the Parliament being ended, and he dying, the old King, contrary to his promiſe, ſoon recalled the former perſons, before removed, and Committed the Government of the Realm again to his third Son; *John* of *Gaunt*, that aſpiring Duke of *Lancaſter*, whereby the Tide being turn'd at Court, the ſtorm fell heavy upon ſome Patriots of the late Parliament, who had been the greateſt promoters and occaſioners of the before mentioned change, ſo lately made, of the Miniſters of State. Now was the time to remember, and revenge, all things about the King being mannaged by the Dukes order, who, making uſe of the Kings Authority, turn'd out and put in at his pleaſure, the more eaſily to bring about his deſigns, (by his own Creatures now brought in again into the Government and management of the affairs of State) which tended to

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no leſs, than the putting his Nephew, the young Prince *Richard*, (an Orphan by the Fathers ſide though not the Mothers) from the Crown, and ſetling himſelf in the Throne, upon the old weak Kings deceaſe. This it ſeems had been intended by the Duke for ſome time, but now carried on more vigorouſly with all the art imaginable.

A Parliament is ſummoned to meet at *Weſtminſter* after *Chriſtmas*, honour is openly ſhewn to the young Prince, and his name made uſe of, by his crafty Uncle, to further and promote his own privy intentions and intreagues; The name and power of the *French*, (as that they had raiſed great Armies, and made new Confederacies to blot out the *Engliſh* Tongue and Nation) is likewiſe made uſe of, for a ſtale, to induce the Commons the more readily to part with a good round ſum of Mony, to put the King into a good poſture of defence, to ſpeak and act as a King; And the old Knights, who in the laſt Parliament had ſtood up ſo courageouſly in behalf of the Commonalty, are by the Dukes meanes for the moſt part remov'd, and Creatures of his own are made the chiefeſt managers of Parliament-buſineſs; ſo that now he ſeems ready to carry almoſt all things before him: But only there lies a rub or two in the way, that might ſpoil his bowling, if they were not timely removed. *London* was not, nor would be, at the Dukes beck, and therefore 'twas thought dangerous to attempt publickly, what was privately and principally intended, as long as the Laws and Cuſtoms of the City were in force. Moreover the Church of *England*, it ſeems, in thoſe days was look't upon by the Duke, as none of his beſt friends (though I don't find but he might have been before, and

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was a Church-Man good enough afterwards, as to outward appearance, whatever he was in his heart) and therefore (if *Stow* may be Credited, who writes after *Walſinghams* Pen) he attempted to overthrow it, for that end favouring *Wickliff* and his Diſciples, who went then under the name of *Lollards* among the Commons, and were as much hated in thoſe days, for pretended Hereſies laid to their charge, (for at that time you muſt know the Nations Religion was Popiſh) as the Papiſts are now adays for repeated Plots, and Conſpiracies proved upon them. Whether or no it was to pull down the Engliſh Biſhops, the better to facilitate his own intents and purpoſes, that he was a favourer of the fam'd *John Wickliff*, (as *Walſingham*, a great Papiſt, and alſo a Monk, affirms) Providence out of the Dukes ſinful Ambition raiſing Protection for the Maintainers of the true Religion, or elſe that being convinced of the Conformity of *Wickliffs* Doctrine to Truth and Godlineſs, He, like *Herod*, heard *John* gladly, and did many things at his inſtance, I ſhall not now pretend to determine. But moſt certain it is from the ſtory, that 'twas *London*, not the Engliſh Clergy, that put the greateſt ſtop to the Dukes aſpiring deſigns, and daſh'd all his Ambitious Intreagues in pieces, to his, and his Favourites no ſmall Diſappointment.

For the *Londoners* being enraged at the Dukes threats, and their fury increaſed againſt him, for that in the Parliament, the Duke being Preſident, a motion had been made in the Kings name, (over whom at that time 'tis well known how great an aſcendant the Duke had) that there ſhould be no more Major of *London*, according to the Ancient Cuſtom, but a Captain appointed over it,

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and the Marſhal of *England* might therein arreſt Offenders, as in other places, (ſo that 'twas in the Military Officers that the Duke ſeems to have plac'd moſt of his Truſt and Confidence, as doubtleſs his Creatures and Favourites in *eſſe aut poſſe*) with many other things manifeſtly contrary to the City's Liberties, at the encouragement of the Lord *Fitzwalter* (who claim'd to be their Standard Bearer by inheritance) they put themſelves in Arms, and acted with ſuch an exceſs of rage and violence, that had it not been for their own Biſhop, who pacified them for the time, the Duke and his great favourite *Piercy* had that day (ſaith the book) loſt their lives. But they having timely notice, fled from the people, and applied themſelves for ſafety to the young Prince, and his Mother, who undertook the buſineſs, and ſent to the Londoners, to make peace with the Duke; ſo kind and gracious was the good Princeſs, as to mediate in his behalf, who deſir'd in his heart to diſpoſſeſs her own Son of his right. To her Meſſenger Anſwer was return'd by the Citizens, that for her honour, they would perform her Commands, but as to what concern'd the Duke, injunctions were laid on them to will him, that he ſhould ſuffer the Biſhop of *Winchester* to come to his anſwer, and to be try'd by his Peers, and alſo permit *Peter de la More* [Speaker of the laſt Parliament] then by the Duke's means imprison'd to anſwer for himſelf, after the Cuſtom of the Law; and as for the third, they ſaid they would account a Traitor, whereſoever he ſhould be found. So run the words in *Stow*, which being to the Duke reported, he became not a little troubled, and not without reaſon in my opinion, at the Citizen's Anſwer, and their indignation conceiv'd

ceiv'd againſt him, ſince that he interpreted, what they had ſpoken of a Traytor to be meant by them of himſelf, though as to that particular he denied himſelf to be one. He had been mad, I ſhould have thought, or fooliſh, if he had preſently confeſs'd, and own'd the imputation. However, from the Citizens meſſage, and the Dukes interpretation thereof, 'tis eaſie to conclude, how little they lov'd him, and he ſoon found it to his trouble and vexation. Jealouſies and ſuſpicions generally go a great way among the common people, and are almoſt as prevalent as proofs, eſpecially when there is a great man in the Caſe, whom they dare not openly accuſe and impeach, and cannot try for lack of ſafety and a good opportunity, and he himſelf is not very willing to put himſelf upon a fair trial, and thereby wipe off all aſperſions in the common legal way of his Country. All his Tergiverſations do foment, rather than diminiſh, the Heats of the people, who have but the more opportunity and occaſion to think, (and will commonly too think ſeurvily) the leſs they have to act.

The rough Meſſage, the Londoners ſent the Duke, we have heard, but that was not all: They would away to the King too, and acquaint him with the late proceedings. And ſo accordingly, upon a Councel held thereabouts, they ſent ſome of their chief Citizens, either to juſtifie (ſaith the Annaliſt) or excuſe what had hapned. Long were theſe a ſuing to come to the Kings preſence, the Duke keeps them back: For they might be apt to to tell Tales, or at leaſt remove the prepoſſeſſions, wherewith the Duke and his party doubtleſs had fill'd the credulous King's Head. The Duke would fain have ſtopt their entrance, and

put them off, but they would not be ſo ſerv'd. The Duke tells them, that the King was very ill at eaſe, and his ſickneſs might be encreaſt, if he were mov'd to anger by their Speech. A fine excuſe, but 'twould not paſs. The *Londoners* were reſolved on't. They were not come to encreaſe, but mitigate his grief, and their Commiſſion from their fellow Citizens, they ſayd, was not to be Communicated to any, but to their Liege Lord the King himſelf. They were for no Proxies, Advocates, nor Attorney-Generals of the Dukes providing: They would be their own Spokeſmen. Well then, at laſt after much ado they gain acceſs, and ſhew the King, what had been publiſhed in Parliament, as his Will, againſt their Liberties and priviledges: They excus'd likewiſe themſelves of ſome of the Commonalties behaviour in the late Commotion, as being the effect of ſome ill men among the rabble, whereto they were, neither privy, nor conſenting; whereupon the King, a little cheer'd up with their coming, anſwer'd, that he would not the diminiſhing of their Liberties, No, he was rather ready, if need were, to augment them, neither did any ſuch Reſolutions ever come out of his Mouth, and therefore willed them not to fear, but to return and appeaſe the Citizens, and to keep them in Peace. The Dukes faction would have made uſe of the Kings Name and Authority, to deprive the City of her Charter of Liberties, and endeavour'd to perſwade the Parliament Men, that it was the Kings good Will and pleaſure to have it ſo; but, upon the Citizens application to the King, they hear an other tale, the King own'd no ſuch thing, never any ſuch thing came out of his Mouth, he tells them expreſ-

ly.

ly. Set a mark here. Obſerve likewiſe the conſe-quence of the Citizens coming to the King, he was a little cheer'd, ſomewhat better in mind poſſibly, when he heard the truth of the matter. Before perhaps he had heard ſtrange tales of ſeditious meet-ings, Inſurrections, Riots, Tumults, and the like, as if none were for keeping the Kings Peace but the good Dukes good party, ſuch ſtories had they buz'd in the ears of this weak, old, infirm, ſickly King, and he as ready to believe all, till diſproved by the different Relations of as Credible witneſſes. To hear one ſide only, and ſtop ones ears to the others defence, is not only a manifeſt ſign of extream partiality, but alſo the ready way to be impos'd upon by the deceit of lying Tongues, and to be kept always from the knowledge of the truth, where thoſe near us think it their intereſt to have it ſo.

About the time of the late uproar, it's ſaid that, the Duke's arms were hang'd up revers'd in ſign of Treaſon, in the principal ſtreets of the City, ſuch was the hatred the *Londoners* had conceived againſt him; but 'twas in thoſe days as unknown who did it, as 'tis at this time uncertain, who cut the Picture of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, the other day at *Guild-hal*. Whether there were any Proclamations, with promiſes of re-ward, emitted, to find out the Author and Actor of that deed, I know not of a certainty, as not finding it mention'd in the Hiſtory: Poſſibly there were none, or at leaſt they prov'd very ineffectual, which I the rather conclude, becauſe that, when ſome had made malitious Rhymes upon the Duke, and faſtned them up in divers parts of the City, another remedy was found out againſt them, but

haply as inefficacious, *viz.* a Sentence of Excommunication, at the Dukes requeſt to the Biſhops, pronounced againſt them publickly by the Biſhop of *Bangor*, the Aldermen of the City aſſiſting him. To be Excommunicated did carry ſomewhat of terror with it, in *England*, in thoſe Popiſh times, among the vulgar, and might probably again, ſhould Providence, for our offences, ever ſuffer Popery to be brought back into the Land; but among Proteſtants, and knowing underſtanding men, Excommunication upon every ſlight account, and trifling pretext, is of little value, eſteem, or regard, and no more dreaded perhaps by ſome, than 'twas by *Rablais*, when he beg'd it as a great boon of the Pope, becauſe the poor Country Woman thought her Faggot Excommunicated, when ſhe could not make it burn. Beſides theſe Indignities put upon the Duke at *London*, in, at, and after the aforeſaid Tumult of the Common people, we are told alſo, that all ſuch, as wore the Dukes Sign or Colours, were fain to hide them, conveying them into their boſoms, ſo great a fear and dread had ſeiz'd upon their Spirits. Whether theſe Colours were Parſons Black, True Blew, Flouriſhing Green, Orange Tawny, or Blood Red, the Hiſtorian hath not ſo far gratified us, as punctually to ſet down in his Relation of theſe tranſactions. But if I might have leave to paſs my Verdict herein, I ſhould be apt to conjecture them to have been, at leaſt for the moſt part, worn by the Red-letter'd people. What ſad Prognoſticks may we think our Almanack-makers and ſtar-gazers then gave of the times, when they ſaw *England* ſo likely to fall into ſuch Feuds, Factions, and diſorders as thoſe of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*?

But

But one good turn 'tis, that Aſtrogolers Prognoſtications uſe commonly to be, like the Popiſh Oracles old Almanacks, ſoon out of date. The City could much ſooner influence the Nation, than they could make the Stars influence the City, in favour of the Dukes cauſe.

How the Citizens of *London* oppos'd the Duke, we have ſeen, but he is reſolved it ſeems to ſhew his bitter reſentments upon the next opportunity, and accordingly, after the Duke had obtain'd his deſires of the two Houſes of Parliament, *viz.* A Poll-Bill or Tax of all the heads in the whole Realm, he cauſed the King to ſend for the Major, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of *London*, who ſoon came before him, then very ill at eaſe, as they were ordered, into his Chamber of Preſence; where, after the uſual Ceremonies over paſt, a certain Knight of the Court endeavoured, by his Ciceronian Rhetorick, and the Eloquence of his Oration, to perſwade the Citizens, to confeſs their great and hainous offences againſt the King and Duke, and to ſubmit themſelves to their Mercy. See here the Kings Name muſt be brought in, right or wrong, or elſe the Dukes cauſe, and pretenſions, would ſignify little. But the *Londoners* were not ſo to be caught. For they anſwered, they had not Conſpired againſt the Duke, neither had there been any ſhameful thing ſpoken or done againſt him, that they did know of, or conſent unto, which they were ready to prove before their Soveraign Lord the King, and the Duke himſelf. The folly of the Common people they affirm'd they could not ſtay, and therefore requeſted of the King, that he would not puniſh thoſe that were innocent, and ignorant of the Fact, but withal

withal promiſed the Duke, for Reverence of the King, (obſerve this) that they would endeavour to bring in the Common people, and compel them by Law to make due ſatisfaction, and more (ſaid they) we are not able to do for the Duke, that may be to his Honour. Not able to do more, why? What would his faction have had them to have done? Was his favour to have been purchas'd at no leſs a price, than an intire Reſignation of all they had, Bodies and Souls, Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates at Diſcretion? Muſt they have deny'd their ſenſes, and their reaſon too, in charging themſelves with what they neither ſayd, nor did, felt, heard, nor underſtood, to avoid *Scandala Magnatum's* and the Arbitrary Fines of byaſs'd Juries? Leave we ſuch Terms of accommodation to the inſulting power and Pride of Prelatical Conſciences, to impoſe upon their underling Curates. Such is the continued cauſe of difference between the *Moliniſts* and *Janſeniſts* in *France*, while one ſide fairly offers, to diſallow certain diſpleaſing Propoſitions, either by themſelves, or as *Janſenius's*, if ſhewn to them in his works, and the other party, as pertinaciouſly, inſiſts upon their rejecting them as his, becauſe the Pope hath ſo condemned them.

Glad we may eaſily ſuppoſe the *Londoners* were, when diſmiſs'd upon their aforeſaid Anſwer. But it ſeems the Court was not yet ſatisfied: For afterwards we read of the Kings ſending them a Command ſecretly, to call all the Citizens together, and, having made a Wax Candle with the Dukes Arms in it, to carry it ſolemnly in Proceſſion to Saint *Pauls*, there to burn continually at the Cities charges, which was accordingly performed

formed by the chiefeſt and richeſt of the Citizens; the meaner commonalty diſdaining to be preſent at ſuch a proceſſion, and therefore with indignation departing home, when they heard the buſineſs, and knew the occaſion of their being call'd together. But neither did this condeſcention of the greateſt give the Duke content; he threatned them, look't upon it as a reproach, and took it in great ſcorn, that they had offer'd thus his Arms in a Wax Taper while he was alive, and in good health; notwithſtanding they affirm'd, they had expreſly done that which his Father, the King, had Commanded them, and would have done any thing, that might have pleaſed him, *i. e.* in reaſon. For peace and quietneſs ſake poſſibly, and out of reſpect to the Kings Majeſty, they would not have refus'd the trouble of putting forth a few honorary Proclamations, nor denied him the Complement of a volley or two of Holla's and Huzza's, if that would have pleas'd. But this did not anſwer the Dukes Expectations, nor ſatisfie his Ambitious deſires, they knew, he ſayd, his mind, and were not ignorant how to make ſatisfaction. Ay; there 'twas: He would have us, ſayd the troubled Citizens amongſt themſelves, Proclaim him King, but this ſhall never be done, and ſo they parted worſe friends than they were before. So much ado was there with one proud, haughty Duke, moſt injuriouſly aſpiring to the Crown, to the prejudice of his better belov'd Nephew, whoſe claim, title, and right had been ſometime before (if I miſtake not in my reckoning) ſettled expreſly by the Parliament, or at leaſt he had been declar'd by his Grand-Father his Heir and Lawful Succeſſor; Yet this the Ambiti-

ous Uncle thought probably easily to have evaded and deluded, though besides the affections, and contrary to the inclination of the rest of the Nation, could he but have prevailed upon the *Londoners*, by threats, or fair words, to have sided with him; But their opposition quite spoil'd the Game, and kept the Duke off the Cushion, a Duke stil', so Tryumphant were they in Power, Prudence, and Loyalty. Wherefore to satisfie his restless revengeful Spirit, the Duke ceas'd not, till he had got the old Major put out, and a new one Elected, the Aldermen depos'd, and others set in their places: So little did their late Compliance, and humble Procession, avail them, while the Commonalty remain stiff, firm, and unshaken, as well by the Dukes power and greatness, as by his Threats and Menaces. He had gain'd a great Ascendent over the weak Kings affections, but yet for all that could not sway this Honourable City to his Interests, and the Interest of his, then prevalent, Faction at Court.

The Citizens Loyalty is plainly shewn, beyond denial, in Couragiously adhering to the Juster claim and Title of the abus'd Nephew, and preferring his Birthright before the Pretensions of his Uncle, who, Ruling the King and those about him, thought also to have over-rul'd the City too. Their Prudence is manifest, in that they wisely chose to yield many things to the times, for peace sake, but when neck and all was in danger, they would not budg a foot, nor stir one step further, to humour all the Dukes in *Kent* or Christendom: Neither is their power less conspicuous, who not only dar'd, but did oppose this high minded Duke in the Days of his Visible Grandeur,

and

and prov'd a match by far too hard for him. For in a short time comes the News of the Old Kings lying at the point of Death, and presently we have the *Londoners* sending the chiefest, and worthiest, of their Citizens to the young Prince, and his Mother, then Resident not far from the City, declaring their ready minds, and good wills, to accept him for their true and Lawful King, upon his Grand-Fathers Decease, beseeching him, on the behalf of the Citizens, and City of *London*, that he would have the City Recommended to his good Grace, submitting themselves only to his Rule, and bowing to his Will and Pleasure, under his Dominion to serve, in Word and Deed, as being known to be so much at his Devotion, as not only ready to spend their Goods and Estates for his sake, but also to jeopard their lives in his behalf, as *Stow* expresses it in *John Philpots* Oration, in the beginning of the life and Reign of King *Richard* the second, who was thus so undeniably setled in the Throne of his Fore-Fathers, by the Cities apparent interest, and visible influence upon the Councels of the Nation, in that great turn and change of affairs.

The Cities power seems plainly demonstrated, give me therefore leave to bring one instance more of their wisdom, caution, and prudence in these dangerous, because unsetled, times, before I pass on to other particulars. The young King being thus entred upon the Government, it was thought good by the King, or those about him, to have some care taken to accommodate former differences, especially such as had hapned between this potent Duke and the more powerful City. Wherefore several persons of Eminency were speedily

ſpeedily ſent to *London*, to ſalute the Citizens in the new King's name, and acquaint them, how the Duke in all things had ſubmitted himſelf to the Kings will, ('twas time, for 'tis certain he had loſt the day, though not perhaps his high-tow'ring Ambition) and that they ſhould do ſo in like manner, and then the King would endeavour a Reconciliation to the City's honour and advantage. Fair words and large promiſes. But the worthy Citizens were not Birds to be caught with chaff, much leſs to be hamper'd in a Nooſe of their own making. They were for no Reſignations it ſeems at Diſcretion, though to the deareſt Friend alive. They knew the King to be but young, and weak to help them in ſuch a troubleſome buſineſs, if they ſhould ſo heedleſly deſert their own Cauſe, and put the ſtaff out of their own hands, by their own Conſent. They had enemies enough ſtill, they might think, at Court, as long as the Duke was there, and his flattering favourites, who might poſſibly over-rule at leaſt, (if not over-aw) the King to their prejudice, ſhould they render all they had at pleaſure into his hand, by their own voluntary Act and Deed, when as they knew themſelves well able to defend their liberties and properties in a legal way, without hazarding them upon ſo intire a ſubmiſſion, as was required, without Reſerve. Wherefore, upon conſultation, this Medium was at length found out, that if the noble perſons, ſent to them with that meſſage, would be bound to the Citizens, that their ſubmiſſion ſhould not redound to the temporal loſs or bodily harm of any Citizen, or prejudice of their City, they would gladly obey the King's Commandment. This thoſe eminent perſons

of

of quality undertook by Oath, and upon their Knighthood: And ſo, upon this ſurety, away go the Citizens to Court, and being ſoon brought before the King, beſought him (as the Annaliſt words it) to reform the peace betwixt the Duke and them, affirming that they were ready in all things to ſubmit themſelves unto his will and pleaſure, not as though they confeſſed they had made any fault againſt the Duke, (conſider this) but as men that came at this time for the benefit of peace, and honour, as well to the King, as the Duke, to pacifie the hearts, and mitigate the pleaſure of both. That this was their intent is evident enough from their own requeſt before made to the King, that he would vouchſafe to make a good and profitable end of this diſcord. For that they fear'd not the Duke, is moſt certain from the precedent paſſages, and that they were all of a ſuddain fallen deeply in love with him and his party, I can hardly believe. No, no, They love the Nephew too well, to dote upon the Uncle; and may they always be ſo minded upon a good account. The Citizens having thus prudently (though we ſee not without great caution) referr'd themſelves to the King, the Duke readily accepted of this form of peace (as not hoping poſſibly for ſuch an other opportunity, nor expecting ſo honourable Conditions a ſecond time, if refus'd the firſt), and upon his knees became Interceſſor to the King, to take the cauſe in hand under the form by the Londoners expreſſed, and ſo a Reconciliation was made between theſe two conteſting Parties, the Duke with an Oath promiſing them his friendſhip for the future, and in token thereof beſtowing a kiſs of peace upon each of them

them before the King at the ſame time: Whereupon the Citizens return'd home with joy and gladneſs, rejoycing that the Duke was brought to ſuch humility, who a little before had, in great Pride, demanded of them, for his favour, an hundred Hogſheads of Wine, and an infinite number of precious Stones. So great a value did this high-flown Duke ſet upon his grace and favour, till the Citizens of this honourable City, by their power and prudence, had brought down his haughty ſpirit a Peg or two lower: and that viſibly too, For we don't find him, as ambitious as he ſtill continued, ſo openly aſpiring to *Englands* Crown for the future, how ſucceſsfully ſoever his Son made a Rape thereon at the end of this Princes Reign, under the pretence of I know not what hidden right accruing to him from his Mother. We read indeed, I confeſs, in *Cotton*'s Abridgment of the Records, that, in the ſeventeenth of this King, the Earl of *Arundel* laid ſeveral things to the Dukes charge, as not honourable for the King to ſuffer in him, nor fit for him to do, being a Subject, as that he went Arm in Arm with the King and his Men wear the ſame Livery the Kings did, (which ſeems to ſhew much of Arrogancy, and Ambition, to ſay no more) beſides ſome other Objections, but herein he was ſo far juſtified by the King himſelf, that the Earl was ordered to crave the Dukes Pardon in full Parliament, in a certain form of words appointed him. In *Stows Annals* alſo we meet with an Accuſation brought againſt him, in the ſeventh of this Kings Reign, tending to prove his intent and deſign ſuddainly to oppreſs the King, and take upon himſelf the Kingdom, but it ſeems little notice was taken

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of it by the King himſelf, who was to have loſt moſt, had it been attempted Succeſsfully, and doubtleſs as little believ'd; otherwiſe ſurely the *Schedule*, containing the time, place, and other Circumſtances, had not been preſently delivered into the Dukes hands, nor the accuſer committed at his requeſt to the charge of his near Kinſman, nor the occaſion of his violent Death ſo little inquired into afterwards. The Duke was not ſo powerful, nor ſo great a Terror, but the City was as well able ſtill to deal with him, and his whole party, and make as vigorous oppoſition, as ever, in defence of their Soveraign Lord the King, if occaſion ſhould have offered it ſelf. This we have reaſon to believe was known in thoſe days to all the Nation, much more to the Duke himſelf, from former experience, who therefore may be ſuppos'd not any more to have aſpir'd openly, whatever ſecret fires of Ambition lay hidden within his breaſt; whether or no he deſign'd and attempted ought by unſeen Plots and Conſpiracies, I leave to the Judicious Reader to believe or not, as he pleaſes, without ſpeaking to or for in the caſe. Beſides the decree of an over-ruling Providence, Common equity in ſiding with what was reputed the juſter title, natural humanity in defending the young and weak, and a well grounded affection to the Prince, for his Father and Grand-Fathers ſake, (one the famous Black Prince, the other the Glorious *Edward* the third their King and Sovereign,) we may conclude the generality of the Citizens had the greater averſion to the Duke and his faction, becauſe he was a known favourer of *Wickliff* and his Doctrines, (whether on a good ac-

account or only out of any Ambitious Design, I shall not determine in this place) and so look't upon perhaps as little better than another *Julian* the Apostate. For we are to know, that *Londons* Religion, and consequently the Nations, was at that time Popish, and the generality of the People in Town and Country *Romes* Votaries, who had *Wickliffs* Doctrine in as great detestation then, under the Notion of Heresy, as we Protestants have it now in esteem, under the Seal and assurance of Truth. As indeed for many of the ages past, from our ever-blessed Saviours Birth, through which I have drawn the thread of this discourse, and under the succeeding Kings, for above an hundred years, Popery continued the National Religion, under the power and prevalency of which perswasion was the body of the Citizens bred up, who prov'd so famous in their Generations for their powerful influence on the grand concerns of the Nation, in every considerable turn and change of the times before the Reformation: And when *England* was made happy with this blessed alteration, the Cities Power, Strength, and Esteem remain'd the same in effect, as ever, the change of her Religion introducing no change therein, unless for the better, she encreasing proportionably in every age in Wealth, Riches and Honour, as the Nation grew stronger and stronger: And still continues as visibly conspicuous under Protestantism, as before under the Romish Faith; a thing easy to be demonstrated in due time and place.

How influential the Cities actions were upon the Nations affairs, and her Love advantagious to the Orphan Prince, in securing his Claim, Right,

Right, and Title to the Crown in his Grand-Fathers life time, and ſetling him quietly on the Throne at his Death, in ſpight of all the oppoſition, the deep deſigns, and daring Spirit of his Aſpiring Uncle, *John* of *Gaunt*, and his faction could make, when they had got the reigns of publick Government into their own hands, through the Old Kings Connivance, hath been the ſubject of ſeveral of the aforegoing pages. The next thing of courſe falling under preſent conſideration is to obſerve, how this Honourable City of *London* behav'd her ſelf, after ſhe had lent her aſſiſtance to raiſe this Young Prince, from the meanneſs of a Subject, to the Royal Dignity and Grandeur of a King, under the Name of *Richard* the Second; what place ſhe held in his affections, and of what eſteem in the eyes of all the reſt of the people. But where ſhall I begin, and when ſhall I end? Sooner may I be wearied with reading, and tir'd with writing, than fail of matter to exerciſe my Pen, ſo copious is my Subject and ſo full of Variety. For, in my ſearches into the Hiſtories of this Kings Reign, I find it plain to a demonſtration, that the City carried a great ſway amongſt all Ranks and Degrees, from the Prince to the Subject, from the King, the Supream, to his ſubordinate Magiſtrates, and Miniſters, and was highly Honour'd, Rever'd, and Reſpected among the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of the Land, both in the calm of peace, and the boiſterous ſtorms of civil diſtractions.

I begin firſt with the Honourable Houſe of Commons, the known repreſentative of the Commons of *England*, and concerning them obſerve, out of Sir *Robert Cotton's* exact Abridg-

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ment of the Records in the *Tower*, revis'd by *William Prynne* Esq; that, in the first Parliament of this King in his first year, among other Petitions of the Commons, there is to be found one particular division, under the Title of Petitions for the City of *London*, wherein the House of Commons become expres Petitioners (so great was the Cities influence over their Debates, and so high a respect had they for her) to the King for many considerable Grants in favour of the Citizens, and to them very advantagious and beneficial: As that all their Liberties may be confirm'd with a *Non obstante*: That they attend upon no Commandment of any of the Kings Officers, but only at the Kings Sute, Sealed with the Great or Privy Seal, except the Kings Justices, according to their Charter: That they shall by themselves enquire of Customs and impositions hapning or arising within the City: That the Major and Chamberlain for the time being shall have the keeping of the City Orphans Lands and Goods; [No small advantage in those times, when the Court of Wards was in being, and greatly beneficial still, by reason of the Deceits many poor Orphans meet with from Cheating, or Insolvent Guardians and Trustees, whereas the City's security is unquestionable and her Credit not in the least to be doubted of:] That the Interpretation of any word or Sentence touching their said Liberties, which may severally be taken, may be taken according to the intent and Claim of the said Citizens: That the City may enjoy all such Liberties as any other Town in the Realm, if they have any other than the Citizens have; That no protection Royal be allowed in Debt, Account or Trespass, wherein a Freeman of

of *London* is ten pounds, with several others: By the Answers whereunto we find the Kings Will was, that the Citizens of *London* should in no wise be restrained of any of their Liberties or ancient customs approv'd: Such as were most useful, and advantagious at the present time, were by his Majesty granted, and if any appear to have been denyed, the denyal seems rather conditional, than plain and direct in down right terms: So cautious was the King in his Answers, so careful not to displease this powerful Coporation, and so well advis'd, as not to shew himself Ungrateful at his first coming to the Crown; to those, who had so Cordially ere while espous'd his interest, and so stoutly defended his cause but a little before.

In the sixth of this King, at the request of the Commons the Abridgment tells us, it was enacted, that the City of *London* should enjoy all such Liberties, as they had in the time of King *Edward* the third, or as were to them confirm'd by the King now; and that Victuallers particularly should be under the Mayors Rule, and have no particular liberties by themselves. In the seventh we find it among the Commons Petitions enacted, that the Citizens of *London* shall enjoy all their whole Liberties whatsoever, with this Clause, *licet usi non fuerunt, vel abusi fuerunt*, notwithstanding any Statute to the Contrary. Whether then 'tis possible for any Corporate body, endowed with so transcendent Priviledges by the publick Act and Deed of the known Legislators of the Land, to forfeit and lose them all of a sudden, Judge ye. At the same time we read of a grant made by the same Authority, that the

Mayor and Aldermen ſhould take no other Oath in the *Exchequer*, than they did in the time of King *Edward* the third. How careful were the Commons, do we ſee in this Age, to prevent the Citizens from being enſlav'd in either their Bodies or their Souls? They ſha'nt be impos'd upon, by their good Wills, in ſo much as an Oath, much leſs have Creeds, Articles and Oaths, by the dozens thruſt upon them to Swear and ſubſcribe to. In the ſame year we have the Commons petitioning the King again in the Cities behalf, (ſo Sollicitous were they for her good and welfare) That free choice may be made of the moſt able men for Aldermen, as well of ſuch as were the year before, as of others yearly. See we here the Houſe of Commons pleading for a free choice, an Election without diſturbance, threats, or menaces, and that particular Citizens ſhould not be impos'd upon, nor overaw'd: And if they had formerly choſen good Men, and found them ſo by experience, that they ſhould not be oblig'd next year to paſs them by, and chooſe others, ſuch as poſſibly might prove friends to them the backward way, and over the left ſhoulders. The Electors might pick and chooſe as they pleaſe, which is the benefit of a free Election. And as the Commons pray, ſo the King grants, as long as there is good Government in the City thereby. What could be deſir'd more? As long as the Aldermen were lyable to be paſs'd by every year, as well as the Common-Council-Men, 'tis very unlikely that they ſhould diſpleaſe the City, much leſs thwart and contradict the Common voice of her Citizens for a few ſprinklings of Court Holy-Water. Obſerve, this was at the Parliament held

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at *Salisbury*, some scores of Miles from *London*, yet 'twas not the distance of place that could breed distance of affection. Remove the national assembly to the other end of the Land, to the utmost Coasts of Great *Brittian*, yet *Londons* Name reaches thither. 'Tis not the place that makes our *Westminster* Conventions so mindful of her, but her Merit, her Power, her Influence, the respect and esteem they have for her Glory, Honour and Renown, to see her ever continue, the fixt unmovable Defendress of the Protestant Religion, under the Defender of the Faith.

In the Ninth, the Commons require, at the petition of the Mayor and Commonalty of *London*, that the Patent lately made to the Constable of the *Tower* may be Revok'd. The reason is plain, 'twas prejudicial to the City, to have the Victuals brought to her, upon her dearest and best beloved *Thames*, made to pay Toll and Custom to another. How Glorious and Gracious must we needs think that City to be in the peoples Eyes, when we find their Representatives, not once nor twice, but so constantly, almost at every turn, pleading her Cause, vindicating her Liberties, and asserting her Rights? And these we know are part of the Legislative power. A general act of Oblivion is a Royal Grant not every day bestow'd upon the Subject, and a grace not often obtain'd without much importunity and intercession. We have reason therefore to believe the Londoners look't upon it as no small favour, that at the Common's request the King granted a Pardon to the Citizens of *London*, in the Eleventh of his Reign, of all Treasons, Felonies, and other offences of loss of life. For to Pardons run, whether the

parties were guilty of such crimes and delinquences, or not; and 'tis a salvo that Wise men disdain not sometimes to make use of, and why should they not, unless a Pardon must of necessity imply a Crime?

We have heard how careful the House of Commons were, under this King, to secure the Cities Liberties, ascertain her Rights, defend her Priviledges, and keep off encroachments, that she might not be abus'd nor impos'd on: Let me next have leave, before I pass forwards, to give a hint or two to intimate, how ready the Commons were to free the City from Annoyances, in order both to the Citizens health and the Cities Ornament, that nothing offensive, either to the Eyes or the Nostrils, might be found therein. 'Tis to be seen Enacted, among the Commons Petitions in the sixteenth of this King, that all the filth upon *Thames* side, in a certain place there mentioned, be utterly remov'd against a short time particular-iz'd: That the Butchers of *London* build convenient Houses, to hold whatsoever they had noisome in their Calling, thence in due time to be carried in Boats into the middle of the *Thames* at high-water, there to be cast at it's beginning to Ebb, so to be born away with the Tide. And that no Rubbish or the like be cast into *Thames* between *Westminster* and the *Tower* on a considerable forfeiture. Small slight trivial matters some may haply think these to be, and not worth perhaps a remark: Yet to me it seems a manifest sign of the Citizens care and esteem, the House of Commons respect for them, and the influence the City had upon their debates, that they shew'd themselves so willing and ready, at all times, to take into more especial consideration the slightest and

and minuteſt things, ſo it came recommended to them from the City of *London*, or appeared in their Eyes advantagious to her Inhabitants: And that theſe had an equal ſhare in making Laws with the Lords, or even with the King himſelf, is as evident as the ſhining of the Sun in a hot Summers-day.

From the Commons let us paſs to the King and Lords joyntly conſider'd. For the eſteem the Lords had for the City, when lookt upon as ſingle in themſelves, and not expreſly united with the King, may beſt be ſhewn either when we come to touch upon the Civil diſtractions of theſe times, whereof the whole Nation were partakers, or the more immediate afflictions of the City in particular, (as ſome we may be ſure they had in a General Deluge of miſeries) my Subject being as yet principally of Proceedings and Tranſactions carried on in a Parliamentary way, that is or ought to be, in meekneſs and calmneſs. What I have chiefly to obſerve here is in plain words out of the Abridgment of the Records Relating to the Parliament of the ſeventeenth of this King, where we read it enacted, that it is not the Kings meaning or intent, nor meaning of the Statute made in the twenty eighth of *Edward* the third, (touching Errors and miſpriſions in the City of *London*) that the Mayors, Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London*, that now are, heretofore have been, or hereafter ſhall be, ſhould incur, or bear the pain contained in the ſaid Statute, for any erroneous Judgment given, or to be given in the ſaid City. This is one of the three Acts there noted, to be enacted by the King, by the aſſent of the Lords only: And therefore makes good my

assertion of the respect shewn the City by the King and Lords, as may be made to appear more obvious by giving the Reader the substance of the forecited Statute, still to be seen, among the Printed Statutes, in the twenty eighth of *Edward* the third, Chapter tenth, where we find it ordain'd and established, that the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen, which have the Governance of the City of *London*, shall cause to be redressed and corrected the defaults errors and misprisions above named, and the same duly punish from time to time upon a certain Pain: That is to say, at the first default a thousand Marks to the King, and at the second default two thousand Marks, and at the third default that the Franchise and Liberty of the City be taken into the Kings hand: And it is likewise enacted, that enquiries shall be made of these defaults by Enquests of people of these Forreign Counties, *Kent*, *Essex*, *Sussex*, *Hertford*, *Buckingham* and *Berks*: And the receiving and execution of the Writs, as well Originals as Judicials, is committed to the Constable of the *Tower*, or his Lieutenant, in place of the Sheriffs of *London*; so runs the Statute: Whence occasion might seem likely enough to be taken, one time or other, by the Cities designing adversaries, to Hector the Mayor Sheriffs and Aldermen into compliance, by threatning to sue that Act upon them, or opportunity given to treacherous friends, (foster'd within her Walls, bred up under the shadow of her wings, rais'd and enrich'd through the benefit of her Franchises and Priviledges, and crept into Authority by the overflowings of her favour) for a lick or two at the publick hony-pot, wilfully to incur the forfeitures, that her Liberties might be

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ſeiz'd, and her good old Charter, as far as in them lies, wholly loſt. But ſuch an Honourable reſpect had both the King and his Nobles at that ſeaſon for this moſt deſerving City, and ſo glorious appear'd ſhe in their Eyes, that they ſeem in a manner reſolv'd, as well as highly deſirous according to their power, to prevent the very poſſibility of ſuch ill conſequences by this favourable interpretation, that after-ages might not rue for the overſights of former times, if they could help it. For this rather looks like an explanation of the Statute than a Repeal, an Act Declaratory of their good Will and intentions, more than a reſult of the whole Legiſlative power of the Nation; here being only the King and his Lords aſſent mention'd, and not a word of the Commons. And yet poſſibly this Declaration may amount to little leſs than a vertual, tho not a formal repeal, if it be joyntly conſider'd with what hath been before related, in the ſeventh of this Kings Reign, concerning the Clauſe, *licet uſi non fuerunt, vel abuſi fuerunt*, notwithſtanding any Statute to the contrary, to be found enacted among the Commons Petitions of that year, in favour of the Cities Liberties. So that upon this account we find Authority in every part of it concurring in the point. And that it was in favour of the City in General, as well as in behalf of particular perſons, is plain from the ſenſe and ſubſtance of the original Statute, and the conſequential adjuncts thereto belonging. But if any one ſhall think this concluſion will not clearly follow from the premiſes, I don't think but I am able to prove it undeniably (as to the part at leaſt of ſeveral of the Lords) from Statute Law: As ſtrong an aſſurance, as we Engliſh-men

can expect, as being the boundary of our Lives and Liberties, and giving us the security of all we enjoy, or can properly call our own. The Statute is to be found in the first of *Henry* the fourth, Chapter 15*th*. where after a recital of the beforemention'd Statute of 28 *Edward* 3. (though through a mistake or misprint, it is said there to to be made in the seven and twentieth year) we find as follows; 'Our Lord the King considering 'the good and lawful behaviour of the Mayor, She'riffs, and Aldermen, and all the Commonalty of the 'City of *London* towards him, and therefore willing 'to ease and mitigate the Penalty aforesaid by the 'Assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and 'of the Commons aforesaid, hath ordained and e'stablished, that the penalty aforesaid, as well of 'the thousand Marks, and of the two thousand 'Marks, and of the Seisure of the Franchises com'prised in the same Statute, shall not be limited in a 'certainty, but that the Penalty in this Case be by 'the advice and discretion of the Justices thereto as'signed. To mitigate it doubtless, not inhance it at pleasure, to ruin particular persons and annihilate the City's Liberties, by pretending the loss of her Charter.

How respectful King, Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembl'd, shew'd themselves to this honourable City hath been sufficiently declar'd, prov'd, and made manifest, I presume, already in the foregoing Relation. Let us now call off our Meditations from this particular point, and fix our thoughts upon an other Argument, highly demonstrative of the City's power, drawn from no less uncouth a Topick than tumults and disorders, insurrections and Outrages of unruly people. There having

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paſs'd an Act of Parliament in the fourth of this King, to impower him to Collect and Gather Poll money throughout the Land, and many exactions thereupon, and incivilities being committed by the new Collectors and other Officers, (ſome of the Courtiers having procur'd the Kings Commiſſions for a review, and a more exact Collection, under the notion of the Kings being cheated and defrauded through the unfaithfulneſs of his former Tax gatherers) the Commons thought themſelves ſo abus'd and oppreſs'd, that in many places they took Counſel together to make reſiſtance, and in ſeveral Counties aſſembled themſelves in great numbers, to the no ſmall diſturbance of the Land. Amongſt theſe the Commons of *Kent* and *Eſſex* are reckon'd the greateſt bodies, gathered together under ſuch heads, as *Wat Tyler*, *Jack Straw*, and the like obſcure Fellows. Theſe we find quickly coming to *London*, where they ſoon obtain entrance, notwithſtanding the Mayors intended oppoſition, and then quickly carry all before them, behead whom they thought good, do what they would, burn great mens Palaces at their Pleaſure, the Gates of the *Tower* are ſet open to them, the King rides to'm in fear, unarm'd, and ill guarded, at their ſending for, and grants them as large Charters as they deſired, none of his Courtiers daring to oppoſe or reſiſt their Inſolencies, ſo that they ſeem to have had all things for a ſmall ſeaſon under their ſole Power, Direction, and Command, as remaining Maſters of the Field, without a ſtroak ſtricken by any oppoſite Party: ſuch a terrour did their numbers and boldneſs ſtrike into mens minds at the firſt, and ſo effectual was their ſucceſs in getting within the Walls of *London*: either through

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the joynt assistance of many Commons there Inhabiting, or else rather under the repute of having the whole City at their beck. But when the first brunt was over, and it was visible, that the greatest, best, and most of the Citizens joyn'd not with the Country Commons, to approve or abet them in their furious outrages and violences, the tide was soon turn'd, and deliverance brought, both to the King and Court, by the courage of this Loyal City. The Mayor himself, as their Head, made the first open beginning, was seconded by his Brethren the Aldermen, and quickly followed by the worthy Citizens. He being a man of great boldness, by the Kings permission, first arrested, and afterwards grievously wounded one of the chiefest of the Rebells, *Jack Straw*, saith *Fabian*, *Wat Tyler*, saith *Stow*, to the great encouragement of those about the King, (among whom this Arch Rebel receiv'd his death) and daunting of the Rebellious Commons; to which valiant Deed the City is indebted for *Walworths* Dagger, some say, inserted upon this Account in her Coat of Arms. After this Act away rides the Mayor with one Servant only (the Annalist tell us) into the City, and crying out to the Citizens to come speedily to the Kings assistance, raises a considerable strength, who well arm'd, under the leading of Sir *Robert Knowles*, came in good time into the Field, where the King was, among the tumultuous Commons, not so well attended, but that the unexpected coming of the Mayor, and the armed Citizens, is expressly said to have caus'd rejoycing in the minds of the King, and those few Knights and Esquires then about him; and the Issue acquaints us with the great consequence

quence hereof, when we read of the Commons throwing down their weapons immediately, falling alſo themſelves upon the ground, and beſeeching pardon, who but a little before gloried, that they had the Kings life in their own power, and ſo poſſibly might have continued boaſting, had not the Citizens thus rous'd up themſelves to the Kings relief, and timely diſpers't theſe ſeditious Rioters in the midſt of their inſulting Pride. That this was a piece of Loyalty, as well as valour, moſt timely and ſeaſonably ſhewn, is evident, from the great influence what was but barely done at *London*, though without *London*'s conſent, had upon the Countrey. For from the Annaliſt we are given to underſtand, that there were the like Inſurrections in *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, and in expreſs words told, that theſe overthrew Houſes and Mannors of great Men, and of Lawyers, ſlew the Students of the Law, *&c.* according to the manner of them at *London*, having for their Captain an ungracious Prieſt, nam'd *John Wraw*, who had been at *London* juſt before, had ſeen what was done there, and came thence with Inſtructions from *Wat Tyler*. So that what's done in the City is very likely to be imitated in the Countrey. A diſorderly Rout of people were got together round about and within the City, and committed many unſufferable Outrages, and ſeveral parts of the Country were reſolv'd to follow the Faſhion, and do the like. The Citizens courage quel'd theſe Tumultuous Commons in *London*, and then they were quickly ſuppreſs'd, we hear, in other Places. Then had the King reaſon to reward the Mayor, and ſeveral Aldermen, with the honour of Knighthood and other recompences, and time to aſſemble an Army of his

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Loyal Friends and Subjects at *London*, to guard him, till the Principals of these dispersed Rebels were brought to condign Punishment by Law, which was quickly done, thanks to the worthy Londoners, who had thus vigorously asserted the Kings Right, defended his Royalty, rescued his Person, and regained him the exercise of his Kingly Power, well near lost before, through the Rebellion of his meaner Commons, and cowardly Fainthearted-ness of his Courtiers; Men it seems that could speak big at the Council-board, and talk high upon the Bench, under the shelter of the Kings Authority; but when they were to come into the Field of War, to fight for their Prince, they prov'd meer Courtiers, all words and no deeds. The Citizens were the Men of valour. They lay still, the King was like to be undone, and the Court ruin'd. They appear'd to oppose the vaunting Enemies, they fled before them, and the King regain'd his own.

This one famous City, the terror of her Enemies, the joy of her Friends, cooperates in the grand turns and changes of affairs in the Brittish world, or else such attempts, for the most part at least, if not always, prove vain, fruitless, and insignificant. And where's the wonder of this? The whole City, as a compact Body with Strength and Beauty fitly united, may well be esteemed most amiable, and counted highly powerful, since she is to be admired for the goodness and greatness (under which comprehend the large Riches, Power and Spirit) of particular Citizens incorporated into Her. For the first, let me instance in the commendable diligence of her Mayor *Adam Baume*, who, upon a very great scarcity of Corn in the fifteenth of this King,

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providently took care to have Corn brought to *London* from forreign Parts, to the relief of the whole Realm; and add hereunto the Charity of the Aldermen, who, for the furtherance of ſo good a Work, laid out each of them a ſum of mony, in thoſe days very conſiderable, to the ſame purpoſe, and beſtow'd the Corn thus procur'd in convenient places, where the Poor might buy at an appointed price, and ſuch, as had no ready mony, upon Surety to pay the year following, beſides the common Act of the Mayor and Citizens in taking two thouſand Marks out of the Orphans Cheſt in *Guildhall* for the ſame intent. In Proof of the later, *viz.* The Greatneſs, Riches, Power and Spirit of particular Citizens, I challenge all the Cities in the world beſides, to ſhew me ſuch another Example, as that of *John Philpot* Citizen of *London*, the Citizens Orator to this King in the beginning of his Reign, who in the ſecond year, obſerving the young Kings inability, the Nobles neglect, and the oppreſſions of the poor Commons; voluntarily hir'd Souldiers with his own mony, rig'd out a Fleet at his own charge, and hazarded his own Perſon, to defend the Realm from Pirates, Robbers, and incurſions of Enemies, and therewith ſucceſsfully took in a little time *Mercer* the Scot with all his Ships, which he had before violently taken from *Scarborow*, and fifteen Spaniſh Ships beſides laden with much Riches, which came to his Aid. Can *Rome* her ſelf ſhew me a like Parallel? As for the *Fabij*, they were a whole Family among the Patricians, and *Craſſus* himſelf a great Magiſtrate in the heigth of that Common-wealths Grandeur amidſt Equals and Inferiors, whereas this publick-ſpirited Perſon liv'd ſtill a Subject, under a limited Mo-

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narchy, none of the greateſt nor the ſtrongeſt then in the World. This noble Act ſome would have thought ſhould have deſerved great praiſe and commendation, and ſo it had among the Common People, but among the great Lords and Earls it met with Reproach and Detraction, as being a manifeſt reproof of their careleſneſs and negligence, and he himſelf was endanger'd thereby, they ſpeaking openly againſt it, as done unlawfully without the Councel of the King and his Realm, though his deſign could not be denyed to have been very honeſt in the general. Had he ſuffered for that unpreſidented Act, becauſe it was deficient in ſome formalities required by Law, the Stateſmen of the times, therein inſtrumental, without all peradventure had appeared as odious in the Eyes of the Commons, as ſome of the chief Epiſcopal Clergy-men, in a Proteſtant Country, within the Memory of Man, would have made themſelves obnoxious to the Peoples Cenſure, ſhould they have publickly burnt *Vindiciæ Pietatis*, *i. e.* a Vindication of Godlineſs from the imputation of folly and fancy, (which I have heard intimated as if thought of) becauſe it wanted ſuch an Imprimatur as the Law demanded, and was writ poſſibly by an Author not altogether Epiſcopal in his declared Judgment.

But to paſs on, If ſuch were the ſuperemient and ſupererogating Acts of particular Citizens ſo many Ages ago, to what an height of Wealth, Greatneſs and ſplendor muſt we needs think the City to have arriv'd at this day, ſome Centuries of years ſince that time? If ten thouſand Pounds was a Mayors Eſtate heretofore, we may give a ſhrew'd gueſs at the Cities advancement and encreaſe in Riches ſince, now that the ſame is made the limited ſum, for the

the Citizens to ſwear themſelves not worth, who deſire to avoid the chargeable Honour, and Honourable charge, of the Shrievalry. Nay, to go a ſtep or two further, now adays we find her Sheriffs Revenue commonly reputed at double the value, and others of her Citizens thought able to number their thouſands by ſcores. What if I had alſo added, that ſome are eſteem'd ſo wealthy, as not to know an end of their Riches? Certainly ſuch, if any, muſt needs come under the denomination of men vaſtly rich in worldly goods. So that this glorious and Triumphant City ſeems in many things able to vy with, if not out-vy, the *Quondam* Miſtreſs of the World, *Rome* her ſelf. She exceeds her in Antiquity, as being founded (in *Fabian*'s Compute) above four hundred years before her, and hath this advantage of her now, that whereas *Rome* is confeſt and acknowledged to be in the wane of her power and Greatneſs, both as to her Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Authority, *London* ſtill continues on the riſing hand. *Rome* 'tis viſible hath ſuffer'd a conſiderable diminution, as to her former extent and Jurisdiction, in both capacities, whether ſhe be lookt upon, as, once head of the world, or now pretended head of the Church, but *London* plainly appears to be dayly getting ground both in Fame and Reputation, as well as building: And whereto ſhe may come in time, belongs to a Prophet not an Hiſtorian to declare. She is already become the Fam'd Metropolis of this our little World, and *Rome* was but Empreſs in a greater: Neither was ſhe ancar ſo influential over the greateſt part of that, how much ſoever thereof ſhe had under her Dominion, as *London* is known to be at preſent over all ours.

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Having thus ſhewn the influence this Honourable City had upon the Commons of this Land in Peace and amidſt tumultuous diſorders, and the great reſpect both King and Nobles in Conjunction had for her, I ſhou'd now proceed to diſengage my ſelf of an obligation, I preſume, lying on me, from part of a promiſe before made, to declare the eſteem the Lords, when ſingly conſider'd, had of her ſtrength and power. But before I paſs on more immediately thereto, I crave leave to obſerve the great variety and difference in Parliamentary tranſactions and proceedings under this King, within the compaſs of whoſe Reign we find but two years on Record, *viz* the nineteenth and twenty ſecond, wherein there was not a Parliament called and aſſembled in one place or other by his Authority, ſometimes oftner, and ſo thoſe Acts of *Edward* the third were exactly kept for eighteen years running, *wherein it is ordained and eſtabliſhed, that a Parliament ſhall be holden once every year, and more often if need be*, which being omitted but one year in twenty one, and not obſerved in the twenty ſecond, we may eaſily think it prov'd fatal to the unfortunate King, that in the next Parliament he ſhould be depos'd by his own Subjects and the Crown ſet upon anothers head. And is it any wonder, to ſee things ſo injurious and unjuſt ſometimes done in National Aſſemblies, when in a vein of contradiction they make Ordinances ſo diametrically oppoſite each to other, as was done in this Kings time? For we find parties mutually claſhing in publick, and what was ordain'd in one Parliament for the Commons good (as was then pretended) by an other repealed in favour of the other ſide,

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former Laws Annull'd, Pardons revok't, Grants recall'd, and new punishments inflicted for old offences. And yet in an other Revolution, within a very small space of time, the last Parliaments Acts were cashier'd and thrown out of doors to make room for the revival and Establishing the Elder Parliament Statutes Such changes were then Rung, and so much contesting between Priviledge and Prerogative, as if the differences were wholly and altogether irreconcilable, or at least made to seem so by some mens policies, the better to carry on their own more particular Intreagues. And therefore, when fair words were fear'd not likely to prevail, Arms were prepar'd to force, and there was danger of having Swords drawn, Bows bended, and Arrows shot for the promoting the designs on foot.

But of all Statutes, Acts, Ordinances, Laws, and Grants, most memorable and observable is the Petition of the Commons, and the Answer thereto given, in the Parliament begun at *Westminster*, *April* 25*th.* in the second of this Kings Reign. The Petition is to be seen among the Commons Petitions in *Cottons* Abridgment of the Records in the *Tower*, so often mention'd, and Printed 1657. pag. 169. *Tit.* 28. in these words, That Answer reasonably may be given to all their Petitions now, or hereafter to be moved; and that Statutes be thereupon made before departure of every Parliament. The Answer hereto runs thus, such Bills as Remedy cannot otherwise be had but in Parliament, reasonable Answer shall be thereto made before such Departure. Now we are to understand, that Petitions, in the old, are Bills, according to the new Stile, which in this Parliament were thus ordained to be produc'd at

leaſt for the Royal Aſſent, if not to be paſſed formerly into Laws. So that if the Houſes were ſo minded, by ſtraining this grant to its utmoſt bounds (though perhaps further than was deſign'd at the firſt) 'twas no hard matter for them to ſit e'n as long, in a manner, as they pleas'd; and the old King of late Memory, his preſent Majeſty's Royal Father, may hereby very eaſily be vindicated from the Cenſures of thoſe undutiful Subjects, who pretend to blame his conduct, and Arraign, if not condemn, his Judgment for paſſing the continuing Act in the Parliament of forty, whereby he more plainly and immediately put the diſſolution thereof out of his own hands; whereas before he had been haply lyable to have been trickt out of it, with greater affront to his Prerogative, by the quirks that nimble wits would have been apt enough at that conjuncture, to have ſtarted out of this Grant. For what would not they have attempted in that poſture of affairs, who actually did ſo much afterwards by the noiſe of an Ordinance, a term new to the vulgar, but well enough known (though poſſibly never in that uſe and extent before) to the Learned Lawyers, who can eaſily inform the Queſtioniſt, out of the Records in the *Tower*, that in the thirty ſeventh of *Edward* the third they met with the name and nature in a demand of the Chancellors to the whole Eſtates, whether they would have ſuch things as they agreed on, to be by way of Ordinance, or of Statute; and in the Anſwer thereto made, by way of Ordinance, with this reaſon then and there given, that they might amend the ſame at their pleaſure.

If we wonder at this grant, which ſeems to trail after it ſuch inconveniencies to the Regal Power,

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as were before hinted, or at least might be made an Inlet to pretences, as prejudicial to the Royal Prerogative, we are to understand, that this was obtain'd in the Kings Nonage, though not perhaps in times absolutely factious, for I don't read but that things were carried then calmly and quietly enough. But when the King came to full Age, then we may observe that he or his bosome Favourites, were not well pleased with this or other Grants, that confined the Regal Power within stricter Boundaries, than their own desires permitted them to like, and th refore there was striving amain to remove the ancient Landmarks, and the Court effected it at last for a short space, but with so ill an event, that the issue proved as fatal to the King himself, as these counterplottings had been destructive to many others before. People hereupon may say what they think fit, and pass their Verdicts as they please: But can any blame that mans Will and Desire, to disintangle himself from Fetters and Chains, who thinks himself born free, and so would fain live according to his own pleasure and good liking? 'Tis his Judgment rather, that is to be questioned, when it suggests to him, that he may command, and ought to be obeyed, in such things where no obedience was before due, by nature, or consent; and the goodness of his Intellectuals are liable to be doubted of, when they make him to fancy he may be absolute, where known Laws and long continued Custom hath authoriz'd the contrary.

Such seems to have been *England* Case of old, where the Subjects have oft put on Arms to prevent encroachments upon their dearly belov'd, and many times dearly bought, Liberties. And such the Nations State under this King, he being come

to his full Age, when ſeveral of the Barons, headed by the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Uncle, thought it their main intereſt and concern, to ſpeak high and look big, with Armour on their backs and Swords by their ſides, though it ſubjected them to much obloquy and diſpleaſure at Court, and brought themſelves and all theirs into much hazard and danger But this it ſeems they little thought of, or as little valued: That the Court highly reſented the actings of ſuch, as indeavoured in Parliament time to bring ſome of the Prime Favourites to Judgment for Crimes laid to their Charge, is evident, in that they had laid a Plot to invite the Principal Lords to a Supper in *London*, and there murder them, as ſuch who croſſed the King's courſes: But the preſent Lord Mayor utterly refuſed to do it, though mov'd thereto (ſaith my Author) by the King himſelf, and thereupon this deſign miſcarried. But then other Rodds were laid in Lavender, and contrivances ſecretly carried on, to intrap and ſuppreſs the Country Lords. The King calls all the High Sheriffs of the Counties before him, and demands, what ſtrength they could make for him againſt the Lords, if there ſhould be occaſion? But they anſwered, that the Common People did ſo favour the Lords, as believing them to be loyal and true to the King, that it was not in their power to raiſe any great Force againſt them. Then they were commanded to take care, that no Knight nor Burgeſs ſhould afterwards be choſen to any Parliament, but thoſe whom the King and Council ſhould name; whereto they replied, It was an hard matter, in thoſe times of Jealouſy and Suſpicion, to deprive the People of their ancient Liberties in chooſing their repreſentatives. Then were the Judges conſulted, (Men,

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as my Author writes, learned chiefly in one point, that is, without considering Truth or Falshood, to please those in high places) who gave several extrajudicial opinions in favour of the Prerogative upon some Queries propounded to them, by one of which, *viz.* Whether the King might not at his pleasure dissolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart, we may guess what Exceptions and Resentments were taken against the Commons Request, in the Second of this King before mentioned, that the Parliament should not be dismist before a reasonable Answer was given to all their Petitions.

After this was my Lord Mayor of *London* required to give an account, how many able men he could raise in the City? who answered, that he thought they could make fifty thousand men at an hours warning: But when he went about it in good earnest, the Citizens cried out, they would never fight against the Kings Friends, and the Defenders of the Realm. Then were there endeavours privily to apprehend the opposing Lords singly by themselves, but this design was disappointed, and the Lords were quickly up in Arms to defend themselves. When these devices would not hold water, by the interposition of Mediators it was ordered, that the Lords should come to *Westminster* to the King upon a day appointed them; some Persons of Quality and Credit taking Oaths on the Kings part, that no fraud or deceit should be used, whereupon the Lords prepared themselves to come up according to agreement, but soon stopt their Journy, upon notice given them of an Ambusment laid for them in the *Mews*, which made the King ready almost to tax them of breach of Covenant, till he was told the reason, *viz.* the Ambusment

laid for them, and then to clear himself (as *Stow* relates it) ſware he knew of no ſuch thing. He might poſſibly be as innocent as the Child unborn, as to any particular knowledge of this matter, but certainly his Courtiers were much to blame, and very bold, thus to act in direct oppoſition to the former Agreement; for that there was ſuch a treacherous piece of Service intended, the Annaliſt aſſures us, but that any of the prime Engineers and deſigning Actors were puniſhed, for acting thus without the Kings more eſpecial Warrant, Knowledge, or Commiſſion, I do not find.

When theſe tricks would not do, then fair words and promiſes were come in faſhion again, to ſooth up the angry Lords, who at laſt were come to *Weſtminſter* with a ſufficient Guard of Attendants, and in the upſhot the ſpeedy calling of a Parliament was concluded on, where the Accuſers and Accuſed might meet face to face. But the favourite Lords durſt not attend the conſequence of ſuch a Meeting, and therefore the Duke of *Ireland*, and the reſt of the Faction, left the Court to be out of the way, and an Army was after raiſed to conduct the Duke up to Court, with which he haſted as faſt as he could towards *London*, but was miſerably overthrown at *Radcot-Bridge* in *Oxfordſhire* by the conteſting Lords; and ſo ended all his glory, and a few years after his life. Upon this defeat the Lords thought they had matter enough to juſtifie their Arms; with forty thouſand men up come they to *London* and were there received, the King then keeping his Chriſtmas in the *Tower*, to whom they ſhew the Letter he had ſent to the aforeſaid Duke to raiſe an Army for their deſtruction, and the Letters the French King had written to him to come into *France*, there to do acts to his own diſ-

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honour and the Kingdoms. Theſe things we may well conclude bred a great deal of ill blood between the King and his Lords, and that their Pulſes beat extraordinary high is plain from the peremptory meſſage they ſent the King, when they underſtood his mind was alter'd as to keeping his promiſe before made to them, That if he came not according to his word, they would chuſe another King, who ſhould hearken to the faithful Counſel of his Lords. This, 'tis eaſie to be thought, toucht the King to the quick, but being not then ſtrong enough to oppoſe, he eſteem'd it his ſafeſt and ſecureſt courſe to condeſcend to the Lords deſires, and order the calling of a Parliament. A Parliament comes and then it wrought wonders.

In *Stow* we meet with a Story, coincident with theſe times, concerning the Londoners, how that they underſtanding, that the French King had got together a great Navy, aſſembled an Army, and ſet his purpoſe firmly to come into *England*, trembling like Leverets, fearful as Mice they ſought ſtarting holes to hide themſelves in, even as if the City had been ready to be taken, and they, that in times paſt, brag'd they would blow all the French men out of *England*, hearing a vain Rumour of the Enemies coming, ran to the Walls, brake down the houſes adjoyning, deſtroyed and laid them flat, and did all things in great fear, not one Frenchman having then ſet foot on Shipboard. But there's not one word of the Author, whence this was extracted, which we commonly find in the Margin in other Relations. What ground now there was for this pannick fear, I cannot deviſe, or rather reaſon, for the relating of ſuch a heedleſs ſtory, looking more like a conjectural report, than an hiſtorical relation, as if the Writer himſelf had

been frenchified, or impoſed upon by ſome French Tranſlator, who was deſirous to render his Country men terrible to the Engliſh by the Pen of an Engliſh Hiſtorian, ſince they have been ſo ill able to do it by their own Swords. For that the Engliſh neither overmuch lov'd nor fear'd the French Nation, is evident from the Hiſtories of ancient times, and the occurrences of later days, and from the Commons Addreſs to the Purbeck Alarum. How then the Londoners ſhould come to be affraid of them ſo all of a ſudden is a Riddle to me. 'Tis certain enough of late years, that, when they were burnt out of houſe and home, and had little more perhaps to loſe beſides their lives, upon an Alarum of the French coming and Papiſts riſing, they were like inraged Bears, robb'd of their young Ones, much more ready to fall on than the others to ſet upon them, ſo far were they from ſtanding in fear of the whole power of France, though it ſhould have been united with all their Popiſh Friends, Favourers, and Penſioners in *England*. And that they had little or no grounds for ſuch fear in thoſe elderly times, the long train of Victories gain'd heretofore in France puts us out of doubt. Beſides methinks the Inſtances in this Story, which the Writer ſets down as Arguments of fear, are rather proofs of a provident care and foreſight. For what elſe can the running to the Walls, and breaking down the Houſes adjoyning import, but a deſign and reſolution to ſtand upon their own Guard, which is the property of Courage not of Cowardiſe. That there were intentions, ſuitable to men of valour, of ſtanding up vigorouſly in their own defence againſt the forreign Enemy, may be prov'd out of the ſame Author, from the great numbers of armed men by the Nobles brought to the Parliament

ment then at *London*, and the Lord Chancellors calling men of Arms, out of almoſt every part of the Realm, to the Marches about *London*, to beat back the Frenchmen with their King, had they come. Let this therefore ſerve to diſprove the Annaliſts ſuggeſtions out of his own mouth, and ſhew the Nobles care for the Cities ſafeguard, in drawing ſuch forces thitherward, and their hopes of conſiderable aſſiſtance from the City to help them in the Common cauſe of ſelf-preſervation.

But ſuppoſe, without granting it, that there were ſome ſparks of fear amongſt them, 'tis queſtionable, whether they did not ſpring from the miſtruſt of their principal Magiſtrates, not out of any diffidence and diſtruſt of their own ſtrength, or dread of a Foreign Enemies power and puiſſance. For to me 'tis an Argument that the Major of *London* this year look't Courtward, ſince that we read of an endeavour to ingage him in ſuch an horrid deſign, as hath been before ſpoken of, to deſtroy the principals of the oppoſite party at a private Supper in *London*. Certainly the King would not have utter'd a ſyllable of an intreague of this importance to ſo powerful a Magiſtrate, as my Author affirms he did, had there not been hopes of prevailing on him in Reverence at leaſt to the Kings word and deſire: But upon the Tryal it ſeems he prov'd himſelf an honeſter man in that point, (whatever his principles and inclinations otherwiſe were) than his Predeceſſor, whom we read of as deeply concern'd in that Plot. Much about this time 'tis likewiſe that a Modern writer tells us, that the *Londoners* incur'd much obloquy, for that having before been Pardoned by the King of ſome Crimes laid to their charge

charge, (but what nor when committed I find not by him mentioned) they were ready to comply with his desires, and a Jury of them being Impannell'd, indited some Lords of many Crimes objected against them. But this also is to be imputed to the Magistrates influence and power in calling out men fit for the purpose, and not to the whole body of the Citizens. For we read just after, that when the Mayor thought to have rais'd them against the contesting Lords, they resolutely, refus'd, and absolutely rejected the Motion as is before related. So that 'twas not having the Mayor at their Beck, nor the Power, they thought, they had among the high Sheriffs of the Counties to procure such men return'd up to serve in Parliament, as were nominated by the King and his Council, that could shelter the guilty favourites at Court from the censure of that *August* Assembly, well known afterwards by the name of the Parliament that wrought wonders.

For on the very first day thereof all the Judges, but one, were Arrested as they sat in their places, question'd for their extrajudicial opinions and Arbitrary actings, and severely punish'd by Banishment and Confiscation of their Estates: The Lord Chief Justice *Tresilian* lost his Life at *Tyburn*, and the rest, my Author says, had all dyed, had it not been for the Queens intercession. As the Judges were thus brought under the Lash of those Laws, which before they had so much abus'd to humour Arbitrary mens designs, the better thereby to secure to themselves their own Stations and Offices of Judicature, so the Patrons themselves, and reputed promoters of these Arbitrary and illegal Actings, were reduc't into the same Predicament. Several of the chief were impeach'd of no less

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than High Treaſon in open Parliament, the abſent for ever baniſh'd, and many of them in hold either Hang'd, or Beheaded, upon *Tower-hil*, or at *Tyburn*, notwithſtanding they had been ere while Men of Name, Power and Authority, and in great favour at Court but juſt before. So uncertain is the State of Mortality, and ſo ſlippery is walking in *high places*.

But amongſt all thoſe, who fell under the ſtroak of an angry Deity, and ſo ſhamefully loſt their lives by the hands of Juſtice, moſt memorable is the fate, that befel Sir *Nicholas Brember* Grocer, late Lord Mayor of *London*, who, for many oppreſſions, and ſeditions by him caus'd in the City, was Beheaded (as *Stow* informs us) the Morrow after the Execution of the Lord Chief Juſtice *Treſilian*, and, which is more remarkable, with the ſame Ax, he had before prepared for others of his fellow Citizens. So juſt is Providence to ſuffer the wicked to be inſnared by the devices of their own hearts, and to fall headlong into the Pit they had dig'd for others. *Stow* tells us the King had oftimes made him Mayor of *London* againſt the mind of the Citizens. But in *Fabian* (who methinks, being once Sheriff of this Honourable City, ſhould know beſt what had been formerly Tranſacted in that City, of whoſe good order, Policy, and Government he hath expreſly Treated in his Chronicle) I don't find but that he was Elected and Choſen. Poſſibly there might be an order made at Court, Preſent the King, and ſent into the City to further and promote his Election, which by the one might be eſteem'd an impoſing him on the City, while the other only took notice of the meeting of the Citizens in order to an Election, without relating how the matter was carried, or whether he

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came in fairly by a Majority, or else by a strong hand, through the working of Court Favourites, who influencing the Judges might make that pass for Law, which was contrary thereto, let the difference of voices be never so great on the other side. So have I heard of a place, where it was carried by thirteen against twenty one, and when the business came to be scan'd over anew, it was adjudg'd by vote against the Majority: But this was rather the effect of Greatness and Power, overruling, than the result of Equity and Justice dividing to every one his right.

That this Man, when Mayor, met with great opposition from the most eminent of the Citizens, I presume concludable from his Resentments, and what is in plain words delivered of him by the Annalist, how that, whilst he was in the full Authority of his Mayoralty, he caus'd a Common pair of Stocks in every Ward, and a Common Ax to be made, to behead all such, as should be against him, and had Indited eight thousand and more of the best and greatest of the City, so resolv'd was he to carry on the design right or wrong to please his Masters and Abettors. What kind of principled Man he was we may easily guess, as from the aforementioned passages, so from the Historians Relations before hinted of him, as being deeply concern'd in the Plot, before intimated, to assassinate the contesting Lords, and also afterwards one of the Chief Men, that had a hand in laying the Ambuscade, spoken of above, unwilling the King, (as he swore) to intrap them, who, upon promise of safe conduct, confirm'd by the Oaths of some persons of Quality, were coming up to *Westminster* to the King, which he and Sir *Thomas Trivet* privately sent

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away to *London* upon the discovery thereof. That he was a sutable Tool to carry on great mens intreagues, or at least thought fit enough to be made a Property to work upon, why may we not conclude, in that we find him elected, at the latter part of the last Kings Reign, and admitted at the Tower of *London* into the Mayoralty, when the proud haughty Duke of *Lancaster* had got the other Mayor put out of his Office, as not quick enough it seems to run along with that aspiring Dukes designs, who aimed at that time to have put by his Nephew from the Throne, and have intruded thereunto himself, contrary to right, reason and justice, and the publick interest of the Nation? Who knows likewise by whose influence, and for what intents, he was kept in the Office of Mayor for three years together, , in the seventh, eighth, and nineth of this King? What a vast difference was there, as to Principles and Practices, between this man and the fam'd *John Philpot*, his fellow Sheriff in the forty sixth of the precedent King? The one prov'd as great a Patriot to his Country before, in, and after his Mayoralty, as the other shew'd himself an ambitious Courtier under a Gold Chain in the City. But what great wonder is this, to see men once joyn Partners in an Office, vastly differing each from other in their Judgments and Actions, when raised to places of higher Dignity and Preferment? I don't think but 'tis easie enough to find an instance at present, if there were any great occasion or necessity thereof.

'Tis said of this Sir *Nicholas Brembar*, that if he had liv'd, he had been created Duke of *Troy*, or of *London* by the name of Troy. What a pity 'twas that he had not had a Patent, ready sign'd and seal'd lying by him, to have shrowded himself and all his

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old crimes, under this new Dignity upon Occasion? But this I Fancy would never have past upon that Parliament, either Lords or Commons, to have sheltred him from the Law of the Land, though he had become really, in act, as well as desire and design, a Peer of the Realm. However this intention of his, if truly related, sufficiently shews us his Ambition to become a Titulado, unless we shall venture upon a conjecture, that some of the Courtiers sham'd upon him, with the empty promise of this titulary honour, when they wheadled him out of the directions they had before sent him, for the better management of their designs, which they were unwilling to let remain in his hands, (after they had made as much use of his Place and Power, as opportunity would permit) that they might not be produc'd as Evidences against them in a day of Tryal, which they, probably fear'd, might one time or other come upon them, and did it seems in this Parliament with a Vengeance. For I will take the boldness to conclude, that it was some other more skilful hand, hid behind the Curtain, that order'd the Scenes, and manag'd the Machines, though he was made the publick stalking horse, to deceive the vulgar Herd, the Skreen, to shelter other mens heads from the violence of popular fury, the open Actor in the face of the world, the common Engine, to set the Wheels of more politick mens contrivances a going, though against Water, Wind, and Tide: It being very unbecoming the Apes subtilty to put her own foot into the fire, when she may make use of the Cats. But if the Worshipful Sir *Nicholas* suffer'd himself thus impolitickly to be trapann'd, whom had he to blame but himself, if he were made at last

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to pay ſo dear for his own folly and imprudence? And that ſuch is the ominous fate of leſs wary men, who venture upon Actions, not warranted by Law, to ſerve a preſent turn, and humour their own ambitious deſires, or other mens greatneſs, is evidently demonſtrable, as in general from Hiſtory and Experience, ſo more particularly from an inſtance in *Spain*, under one of the *Philips*, of a certain Officer of that Kings, who having by the Kings Order done an Act, for which he was afterwards queſtioned and thrown into Priſon, and upon fair words and promiſes parted with the Kings Letter, which he could have produc'd for his Warrant, was ſoon after left in the lurch, and ſuffer'd to fall a Sacrifice to his own imprudent Credulity, and the Law of the Land. Whether I have been exact, as to all circumſtances of the ſtory, I ſhall not poſitively affirm, as not being fully ſure, but my Memory may deceive me in twelve or thirteen years ſpace, and being uncertain in what Book to look for it now, or where I read it at firſt, unleſs in ſome of the famous *Fullers* works, perhaps in his holy or prophane State; but as to the ſubſtance and truth hereof, I dare aver it from Hiſtorical Relation, and leave the Application to more Philoſophical Logicians, that I may preſs further forwards towards the mark, the end, intention and ſcope of this my preſent undertaking, *viz.* To ſhew the reſpect and eſteem ſeveral of the Nobles in particular had for this honourable City, and their ſolicitous care for her welfare under this King *Richard*.

How that, before the Parliament, that wrought wonders was ended, particular care was taken expreſly to have the Citizens of *London* included in a general Pardon, (to prevent doubtleſs new ex-

exactions upon old pretences) hath been before related amongſt the Commons requeſts as a ſign of their good will, and therefore now to be wav'd, though it would not be impertinent in this Point to ſhew the Lords affection, if that be a truth, which is delivered by a modern Writer, that in our Anceſtors time, moſt of the Members of the houſe of Commons thought it an honour to retain to ſome great Lord, and to wear his blew Coat, to make up his train, and wait upon him from his own houſe to the Lords, and make a Lane for him to enter thereto; which argues how much the Lords did, or might, over-rule them, in their frequent Petitions on the City's behalf. But I ſhall paſs over the conſequence of this Concluſion, as an Argument depending on the Readers Will and Choice, which he may grant or deny at pleaſure, and produce an inſtance or two leſs dubitable, and not left ſo much at diſcretion.

How hard a matter it hath generally prov'd, to bring Offenders, if great in Power, Place and Authority, to Juſtice, is plain from Hiſtory and Experience: As evident likewiſe is it, that the Offences, to ſuch imputed, have been Exactions, Extortions, oppreſſions, corrupt Abuſes of the Law, Illegal Principles, Arbitrary Deſigns, Unjuſt Actions, and the like National Grievances, (ordinarily comprehended under the name of ill Government) dayly heapt up under weak or negligent Princes by the exorbitant Power of headſtrong Favourites, who, through the exceſs of their Soveraign's kindneſs, the eaſineſs of his Nature, the mildneſs of his Diſpoſition, weakneſs of his Judgment, or fondneſs of his Affection, (grounded moſtly on humour and fancy)

fancy) having graſp'd all publick affairs in Church and State into their own hands, too too oft make no better uſe thereof, than to Hector over thoſe, who were before their Superiours, ſuppreſs their Equals, oppreſs their Inferiors, and inſlave the poor Commons, the eaſier thereby to raiſe themſelves and their own Families upon other mens ruins. When theſe things happen, and the reins of Government fall into ſuch men's hands, the rich are ſure to be the greateſt ſufferers, and ſuch, as have moſt of this Worlds goods, are certain to be moſt watch'd and carpt at, and all opportunities greedily laid hold on to bring them under the Laſh, that they may be ſqueez'd like Spunges, and large ſums exacted of them to buy out their Pardons, and procure forgiveneſs, till another occaſion offer it ſelf to make them be thought Offenders anew, of this *London* ſufferings in the fifteenth of this King are atteſting proofs.

For the *Londoners* having refus'd to lend the King mony, as was requeſted, and ſome abuſes being offer'd to the Merchant Strangers, that proffered to lay it down, *Stow* tells us the King was marvellouſly inrag'd hereat, and, calling a Council of his Nobles at *Stamford*, cauſes the Mayor, Sheriffs, and beſt of the Citizens to be Arreſted, and afterwards (the Mayor and Sheriffs being depos'd) ſends them to ſeveral Priſons there to be kept, till he and his Council had conſider'd and decreed, what ſhould be done with them, and it was alſo further determined, that from thenceforth the *Londoners* ſhould not choſe, nor have any Mayor, but that the King ſhould appoint one of his Knights to be Ruler of the City; their Privi-

ledges were revok'd, their Liberties disannull'd, and their Laws abrogated. Neither was this all; The Terms likewise, and the Courts of Kings Bench, Common-pleas, Chancery, &c. Were remov'd from *London* to *York*, such was the displeasure conceiv'd against them by the King, or the ill Offices done them by some busie Courtiers about him. For *Fabian* gives us another account of this affair, and says the occasion arose from a contest, between the Citizens and the Bishop of *Salisburies* Servants, about one of their fellow Servants (who had taken a Loaf out of a Bakers basket, openly in the streets, and then broke his head with his Dagger for attempting to regain it) which grew so high, the Citizens striving to have the offender seiz'd on and Committed to Ward, and the Bishops Servants rescuing him, and shutting up their Gates, that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs had much ado, by their perswasion, presence, and Authority, to stop further outrages, and contain the multitude within bounds, though at last they effected it, and dismis'd the people home in peace and quietness: But the angry Bishop so highly resented this business, notwithstanding the fault sprung Originally out of his own House, that he and the Arch-Bishop of *York* incens'd the King all they could against the *Londoners*, even so far, that one expressly affirms, he was once resolv'd to have utterly ruin'd and destroy'd the whole City. A very sharp punishment certainly for such an offence, and for a City, publickly endow'd with such transcendent Grants and Priviledges, as not to be lyable to a just legal seizure of her Liberties and Franchises, unless for Treason or Rebellion done by the whole City, as

hath

hath been before obſerv'd in the firſt of *Edward* the third, and the ſeventh of this preſent King. Now how Treaſon or Rebellion could be juſtly charg'd upon the whole City, at this time, and in theſe inſtances, which ſoever of them we give credit to, I cannot well conceive. The moſt methinks that could be made of it, in the worſt conſtruction, could amount no further than a Riot, notwithſtanding the great and hainous matters laid unto the Mayors charge, though not a ſyllable prov'd that I read of, as that he no otherwiſe Rul'd the City, but ſuffered the Citizens to make ſuch aſſaults upon the Kings head Officers, to the Kings great diſhonour, and hazard of the Kings Treaſure then in his Cuſtody. The Statute of the twenty fifth of *Edward* the third, which makes it Treaſon to ſlay the Treaſurer, muſt ſurely have been very far ſtretched, to have brought the whole City within the compaſs thereof, becauſe ſome of the meaner Citizens aſſaulted the Treaſurers Houſe, (upon an injuſtice firſt done by one, and an affront afterwards offered by others of his own Servants, in refuſing to deliver the Offender, or ſuffer the Conſtable to enter to ſeize him) he himſelf being as many Miles diſtant at that time, as *Windſor* is from *London*, and ſo not capable of receiving then the leaſt injury in his own perſon, much leſs to be kill'd out-right, without which no Treaſon lies in the Caſe upon this Act. But if the King and Council would have it ſo, or at leaſt act, as if it were ſo, contrary to an eſtabliſh'd Law, and his own Grand-Fathers grant, who could, who would, who durſt contradict? Here was no Parliament then Sitting, that I read of, no Houſe of Commons in Being, nor Lords e-

nough preſent, their Friends, to ſtave off the firſt brunt, though at length we hear of a Reconciliation depending before a Parliament was call'd, and that too by the mediation of powerful Friends, ſome of them no leſs than the Principal Lords, beſides the Queen her ſelf.

Baker and *Stow* name the Duke of *Glouceſter* the Kings Uncle, who was ever reputed by the Commons a great Friend and Patriot to his Country, and his untimely end afterwards ſeverely reveng'd on the Actors and Contrivers thereof, and made the occaſional cauſe of enraging the People againſt the King himſelf, who, within few years after the aforeſaid Dukes violent Death, was publickly dethron'd by ſuch, as, under the popular pretence of reforming ill Government, aim'd at their own Advancement to the cheifeſt Honours, Preferments and Dignities in Church and State. Through this Noble Peer's Suit and Mediation, among others, we hear the King was ſomewhat pacified, and by little and little abated the rigour of his purpoſe, calling to mind the divers honours, and great gifts he had received of the *Londoners*, (as certainly the ſecuring his right to the Crown againſt the ambitious pretenſions of his aſpiring Uncle, and the defending his Life and Perſon from the furious Outrages of his mutinous Commons, were no mean pieces of Service done him by them) whereupon he determined to deal more mildly with them, and gives them hopes of Grace and Pardon.

Fabian tells us of a Reverend Biſhop, a Spiritual Lord, that joyn'd with the Queen to procure the Kings favour for them, and got

their

their Liberties reſtor'd them again, and that the Queen did ſucceſsfully intercede in their behalf; we may perhaps, not without ſome ſhew of reaſon, conclude from the many great, rich and coſtly Preſents made her by the Citizens, at the Kings publick entrance into the City, about the latter end of *Auguſt* in the ſame Summer. Nay, one Writer goes ſo far as to acquaint us, that even the Duke of *Lancaſter*, *John* of *Gaunt*, appeared likewiſe in their favour, an Interceſſor unto the King, whether out of reſpect to them, or ſecret diſlike of his Nephews proceedings, forgetfulneſs of *Londons* paſt oppoſition, or his deſire at laſt to become Popular, and to ingratiate himſelf with the Citizens, whoſe power he had before try'd to his loſs, I dare not venture to reſolve, upon ſuch unſure grounds as my own bare ſurmizes. But this I preſume may eaſily be granted me, that he was then grown ancient, and the burning fires of his Ambition were much abated, if not altogether quenched, through former diſappointments, length of time, and the viſible increaſe of years, old age growing faſt upon him. So that, the firſt heats being over, he might probably be inclin'd to try his fortune in foreign Countries, and content himſelf with the titulary honour of a King abroad, now that he had long felt the ſmart of a fruſtrated expectation at home.

London having then ſuch powerful Friends, of name and note, in the time of her adverſity particularly expreſt in Hiſtory, how many more may we preſume ſhe had, not expreſly mention'd, of the ſame, or ſomewhat inferior rank and quality, who, either out of their own affection and parti-

cular respect, or through the prevalency of these great Examples, ingag'd themselves in the Cities interest, and became Reconcilers and Repairers of her late Breaches? But if the Readers candour will not yield me this, not irrational, supposition, these doubtless in themselves are enough to make out the truth of my assertion, and free me from the undesirable imputation of a vain pretender, when I offer'd to shew the esteem the Lords, singly consider'd in themselves, had for this great and honourable City. The aforementioned passages shew their good will, yet, all this notwithstanding somewhat else was expected at Court, which the Cities Enemies mainly drove at, and seem resolv'd by one means or other to compass and bring about. The City was Rich in Priviledges, Rich in Glory, Rich in Coyn, besides the Spirit and Courage of her Citizens; all which conjoyn'd made her powerful at home and abroad, fam'd in Foreign Countries for Trade and Commerce, and highly honour'd within the Circle of the Brittish-Isle, through which she was known like a Planet to dart her over-ruling influences. Among Arbitrary Designers these have been generally look't upon as Malign, and therefore no wonder if at Court ill-affected. Their Liberties and Priviledges are thought too great, let's then have 'em lessened now time serves: And so they were. For the *Londoners* being Commanded to come to *Windsor*, there to shew them, and produce their Charters, both old and new, some of them are satisfied, some condemn'd, some restor'd, others detain'd. Their Glory likewise is to be made to suffer, if possible, a diminution in the eyes of the world, and therefore almost all the Lords are ga-

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ther'd together at *Windſor*, againſt their coming thither, and alſo a great Army, that the people might think them terrified thereby, and frighted into ſubmiſſion, and ſo have the leſs eſteem for them hereafter, as ſuch as may eaſily be accus'd of offences, and as eaſily be made to undergo grievous penalties for them, whoever was originally in fault. Theſe Preparations muſt needs occaſion conſiderable charges, but the *Londoners* muſt pay the ſhot, if they are Covetous of peace and quietneſs: And ſo they did at laſt, to their no ſmall expences.

'Twas not the Honourable Cavalcade of principal Citizens ſent out in one Livery, to meet and Conduct the King and Court through the City; 'Twas not the Triumphant Reception of him in his paſſage, through a lane of Livery-men lowdly ecchoing forth his Name, the running of *Cheapſide* Conduit with more than one ſort of Wine, the adorning the Windows and Walls of the Streets with Tapiſtry, Cloth of Gold, Silver and Silk, nor other gawdy ſhows, to entertain him; 'Twas not the Rich and Chargeable Preſents made to him and his Queen, as they paſs'd along, or afterwards the next day, (the Coſtly Crowns and Tables of Gold, Horſes with their Noble Trappings, Plate of Gold and Silver, Cloth of Gold, Silk, Velvets, Buttons, and Ewers of Gold, Gold in Coyn, Precious Stones, and Jewels ſo Rich, excellent and Beautiful, that the value and price was ineſtimable) that could fully appeaſe the Angry King, or rather ſatisfie the ravenous Courtiers Covetuouſneſs, until they had laid down alſo Ten thouſand pounds in ready mony: And this did the ſeat for that time. And

but for that time as far as I can find. For new Lords new Laws: New Favourites produce new Changes, and old ones being cast out of Doors, they are for finding out new Crimes, Pretences and Devices, to empty other mens Purses and enrich themselves, under the common notion of levying Fines and Amercements for the King.

King *Richard* had received Royal Gifts, and Noble Presents, of his truly Royal Chamber of *London* in the sixteenth year of his Reign: Yet within less than half a dozen years space, this was forgotten and quite out of memory, or else so well remembred, as to make some heartily desirous of more such Boons, and hoping that some of *Dana*'s showers might descend also into their own laps. These being the true Chymical Drops to restore, enliven and invigorate the tir'd spirits of such hunger-starv'd Expectants. And where, throughout the whole British World, are they to be had in greater plenty than at *London*? And by the sequell of the story, we may believe this was an approved Recipe in those days. For some Informations had been given in against the Londoners, which incens'd him, and to such a degree, that the Commonalty, *Fabian* tells us, was indicted with other Sheriffs, and therefore consequently their own likewise, which might have brought great damage afresh to them, but that Providence then rais'd them up two Potent Friends and Favourers among the Spiritual Lords, by whose advice they made an humble supplication to the King, and so by their aid and assistance, with help of other Lords of the City, the Kings anger was much appeased. But yet nevertheless Blank Charters were brought into the City, and many of the most substantial men thereof

thereof forc't to seal them, highly to their disadvantage, which was likewise soon after put in practice in many other Counties. So fatal was the Citizens Example to the rest of the Land, and so little gain'd they themselves in these Conjunctures by their Submissions, Resignations, and other like compliances to the Court, besides expence, charge, and much trouble, and the continual fears of greater molestations for the future.

But when was this and how was it brought about? If we trace the Scenes of times and affairs a little backwards, by the unerring Clue of Authentick History, we shall find these transactions to bear date some years after the end of the Parliament, that wrought wonders, when possibly 'twas almost forgot, and it's Statutes, by some Mens Artifices, slighted through disuse and inexecution. Neither was indeed these latter proceedings attempted, till after that, by several tricks and devices (as naming Sheriffs fit to serve turns, and imposing such Representatives on the Borough Towns, as would be byas'd to betray their Country, besides a violent seizure of the Country Lords likely to oppose) the Court had got a Parliament to their minds, that would do their own business, not the Nations, and prefer the private gain of some few, before the publick benefit of the whole Commonwealth.

What sort of Parliament this was, and how fairly things were carried, we may inform our selves out of *Stow's* Annals, where we find it upon Record, in the twenty first year of this King, how that all of a suddain, in the midst of a great calm and outward serenity, the King caus'd the principals of the party, thought most opposite to Court designes, to

be

be seiz'd on and imprison'd, and among the rest his own Uncle, as Chief, (so unsecure is Kindred and Alliance among Kings and Princes,) tells the Commons by Proclamation that their apprehension was founded on new Transgressions not old Crimes, (though these afterwards were the great offences laid to their charge) procures their Indictment at *Nottingham*, suborns several Nobles to impeach them in the next Parliament, Assembles many Malefactors of the County of *Chester* in the nature of a Guard, and then summons the Parliament. Thither came the Nobles with an Armed Retinue, for fear of the King, such Knights are chosen Prolocutors, as are described to be void of all manner of goodness, as in whom nought was to be found, but a natural Covetuousness, unsatiable Ambition, Intollerable Pride, and Hatred of the truth, and the Clergy, upon pain of losing their Temporalties, injoyn'd to chose them a Common Proctor, who thereupon appointed Sir *Henry Percy*, Steward of the Kings Houshold, to assent in their Names to all things done in the Parliament. How then things were likely to be ordered in the two Houses, 'tis no hard matter for us to guess, especially when we remember, that the Annalist tells us, the Parliament House was compass'd about with four thousand of the Kings Archers, who seem to have been ready prepar'd on all occasions for an Onset, and once more particularly, mistaking the noise, usually made at the Parliament's Men coming out of the House, for a Tumultous Broil and Contention, with their Bows bent, Arrows fitted, and drawing, they were upon the point of shooting, to the terrour of all present, till the Kings coming rectified their mistake and pacified them.

To

To tell of recalling of Pardons, diſannulling of Charters, making void of Commiſſions, revoking former Judgments, impeaching, arraigning, condemning, and actually puniſhing the oppoſite Party, ſome with loſs of Eſtates, Lives and all, others with forfeitures of all worldly Goods and perpetual irrevocable impriſonment, I eſteem a needleſs labour. Suffice it therefore to remark, how ſollicitous the Court was, at this juncture, to render their own Party as Saints, and the others as moſt guilty Criminals, to take off the conteſting Lords, as diſloyal Traytors, and reſtore in the Eye of the Law the Reputation of Courtiers formerly condemn'd, in the eleventh year of this King, as if they had been the honeſteſt and loyalleſt Subjects in the Nation, and undo, as much as in them lay, what ever was then done in the Parliament that wrought wonders, notwithſtanding that in many things they imitated that Aſſembly, when they thought it for their peculiar advantage, as in Lords Appellants, Oaths to make all the Judgments, Ordinances and Statutes unrepealable, and Excommunication of the Breakers or Impugners of them, but in others far out did it, as in revoking all Pardons pleaded by the oppoſite Lords, (under the notion of being unlawfully made, or ſo by the King granted unto them as not to be againſt himſelf) and excuſing thoſe equally guilty of the ſame actions, becauſe look'd on at that time as uſeful Inſtruments in carrying on the Court Intreagues, *viz.* ſuppreſſing the principal Aſſertors of Liberty and Property, in paſſing a general Pardon with the Exception of fifty Perſons not expreſs'd by name, (whereby any one at pleaſure might be made liable to cenſure, as one of the Perſons excepted, if thought a Favourer,

vourer of the contrary ſide) and conferring the whole Power of the Parliament upon certain Lords and Commons, fully to anſwer all Bills, and wholly to determine all other matters mov'd in Parliament, and not determined, with all their Dependents (as miſchievous a Preſident as *Sylla's* Proſcription, though 'tis hoped not as practicable) beſides the prejudging and confining of Parliament Debates by the Judges Opinions, That when Articles are propounded by the King to be handled in Parliament, if other Articles be handled before thoſe be firſt determined, that it is Treaſon in them that do it.

Such being the Acts of this Aſſembly, and the conſequences of the Courts preſent ſucceſs (in taking off the Heads of the other Party, who durſt at every turn conteſt therewith in behalf of thoſe freeborn Engliſh Twins Liberty and Property) under which the Nation with ſilent murmurs languiſhed and lamented, when they ſo ſoon, after the end of this Parliament at *Shrewsbury*, and the Kings Progreſs into the Weſt, ſaw no leſs than ſeventeen Counties in Eaſt England indicted by the Kings command, and as a grievous offence laid to their charge, that they had been againſt him with the Duke of *Glocester*, Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* (the late Principals amongſt the conteſting Lords, but now ſecur'd faſt enough, the two firſt under the indiſſolvable Bonds of Death, the other under the Chains of a perpetual Impriſonment in the *Iſle of man*) and ſeveral honourable Perſons ſent to induce the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, to make a Submiſſion by Writing, ſeal'd with their own Hands, acknowledging themſelves Traytors to the King, though they never offended him in Word or Deed,

Deed: Besides the compelling all the Religious Gentlemen and Commons, to set their Seals to Blank-Charters, that they might be oppress'd severally, or all at once, at pleasure, some being made to pay a thousand Marks, some a thousand Pounds: And an Order issued out, through every Shire in *England*, that all Gentlemen and Men of Substance should be sworn firmly to maintain, according to their power, all the Statutes, Articles, and Constitutions ordained in the last Parliament. We may easily conclude the Court, though the Citizens of *London* were not over much in love with these enslaving Statutes, unaccustomed Oaths, insnaring Blanks, and inforc'd Submission, and suspected them ready enough, upon occasion, to oppose, and withstand these manifest encroachments of Antinomian Prerogative upon the Liberty of the Subject, and strive to strike off these Fetters, and Shakles of Slavery upon the next opportunity, before they were thorowly rivetted by Time and Prescription, and therefore esteemed it their wisest Course to begin with them first, by the usual Method of Indictments, while they had the Reins of Government in their own hands, and so consequently power enough to manage the Law, as they themselves pleased, to wind and turn it about to their interests, and bend it to their own irregular Desires and Designs, since that they lik'd not to have them confin'd within the limits and bounds thereof.

This manner of acting, however by the by appears to me the most beaten Path to Destruction, and the high way to the Actors unavoidable Ruin, and I think I have reason, History and Experience all on my side. This the City seems well to have understood, and therefore with Prudence chose rather

ther to yield to the times for a ſeaſon, than preſently to ſtrive againſt the running ſtream, and immediately to fall a rowing againſt high wind and Tide; but as ſoon as ever the flowing waters began to Ebb, and the tide was a turning, the City Barge ſtruck in with the returning waves, and aſſiſted to ſteer the Ship of the Common-wealth to a quite different Haven from that, whither the Court was furiouſly driving her before. And then for the moſt favourable of the Citizens to ſhew themſelves but faint Regardleſs friends, was far leſs beneficial to the deſolate forſaken King, than for others of them to appear earneſt Enemies in ſo critical a Juncture, was diſadvantagious to this unfortunate Prince, as he may well be term'd, either for having none but ill Councellors and faithleſs Trencher-friends about him, and hearkning ſo much to their pernitious and deſtructive advice, or elſe for the defect of his Judgment in not diſcerning between their private ſelf ends, and his own ſpecial and particular intereſt, *viz.* Impartiality in doing Juſtice to all States and Perſons, from the higheſt to the loweſt, ſquaring all his own actions by the known Rules of the Law of the Land, to the pleaſing of his people, not by the compaſs of other mens unſtable fancies and anomalous Plat-forms, to the loſs of his Subjects love and affection, and the unhappy fate, that attended him upon this his ill conduct, when he was violently thrown out of the Chair of State into a profound Abyſs of miſeries and infelicities, and irrecoverably caſt out of a Regal Throne into an unavoidable Priſon, between which and his grave he had but few ſteps to make.

For we are to know that, as in the turning of fortunes wheel the ſpoke, that is got upermoſt, pro-

preſently begins to decline, and ſo runs downwards, till it comes to be the under-moſt of all, or like as *Syſiphus* ſtone forc'd up, e'en almoſt to the very top of the Hill, preſently tumbles down again to the bottom with a ſwiftneſs and violence not to be ſtop't, by the ſtrength of art or nature, ſo this Prince, arriv'd in a manner to the heigth of his deſires, by the Caprice of fortune, or rather by the over-ruling power of a ſuperior Being, was ſuddenly, and unexpectedly, beyond Recovery hurl'd down, from the Grandeur of a Potent King, into the loweſt Station among Men, the Confinement of a Priſon, and that too occaſion'd by the very ſame way and means, whereby he thought to have ſecur'd to himſelf a more fixt and ſetled enjoyment of his greatneſs, as comes now of courſe to be ſhewn in manner following.

After the ſuppreſſion of the oppoſite Party, under the ſhadow of Law, and Juſtice, diſſention happening between the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Hereford*, both then great at Court, to the mutual accuſation of each other, the King greedily lays hold on the opportunity, and inſtead of permitting them, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe times, where clear proofs were wanting, to make good their accuſations by the Sword in a ſingle Combat, as had been alſo before appointed, unadviſedly baniſhes them both the Land, the firſt for ever, and the latter for a term of years, with this hard meaſure into the bargain, that they ſhould not ſue for a releaſe of their Judgments on pain of Treaſon, whereby he made both his Enemies, and the latter ſo much the more dangerous, the nearer he ſtood Related to the Crown, and the more inveterate, in that the King had procur'd the Letters Pattents, before granted him, to ſue by Attorney for Lands de-

deſcended to him, to be revok'd by Aſſent of Parliament, and declar'd to be againſt Law, and had afterwards, upon his Father *John* of *Gaunts* death, violently ſeis'd on all his Eſtate, whereto *Hereford* was Heir. Then, amidſt the murmurs of the People for miſgovernment and ill guidence of the Realm, away goes the King for *Ireland* with a puiſſant Army (when he thought he had left all things ſecure in *England*, by the advantage he had made of the laſt Parliament, by engroſſing whatever he pleaſed into his own hands, by the tricks found out to raiſe Money of the Subject by Blanks, *&c.* and the Subſidy he had gain'd in Parliament, during his Life, upon the continuance whereof without moleſtation he openly declar'd his general Pardon ſhould ſtand and no otherwiſe) and managed his Arms therewith ſucceſs enough, but ill news out of *England*, that the Duke of *Hereford* (by his Fathers death Duke of *Lancaſter*) was landed in *England* under colour of claiming his Inheritance, and rais'd people as he went, allarm'd him, and bad advice afterwards, which detain'd him longer than his promiſe in *Ireland* (ſo loath were his Counſellors to ſpare his company, under the ſhelter of whoſe Perſon and preſence lay their greateſt hopes of protection) quite ruin'd him. For coming over and finding the Army gone away, which the Earl of *Salisbury* had rais'd againſt his coming, and had newly voluntarily disbanded it ſelf, upon the Kings tarrying too long behind the Earl in *Ireland*, his courage fail'd him, and he truſting more to flight than fighting, the treachery of his Principal Officers deceiv'd him, and he himſelf alſo, by ſoothing words and fair promiſes, was decoy'd into the Duke of *Lancaſter's* hands, who ſoon ſecur'd him faſt enough, without any intent to let him looſe again in haſte.

Now

Now the King is in hold, let us ſee how the Citizens behav'd themſelves in this great Turn and Change of the Times. They had in this Kings Nonage, in his Grandfathers dayes, appear'd the undaunted Aſſertors of his Right and Title; and in the beginning of his Reign contributed much to his Security and Settlement on the THRONE: But a new Generation being ſprang up in Twenty Years ſpace, and their old Services at laſt ſo ill requited, by new attempts on their Liberties, by Inditements and blank-Charters, inſtead of ſtanding up with their Lives and Fortunes in the Kings Defence and Vindication, they openly devoted themſelves to anothers Service, and became the known Favourers of that Party, which aſſiſted to Depoſe this unhappy Prince, and ſet up in His Room the Duke of *Lancaſter*, under the Name and Title of *Henry* the *Fourth*. As is provable, both from Statute-Law (*viz.* the Act made in the Firſt of this New *King*, to be ſeen in the Statute-Book, *Cap.* 15. *An.* 1. *H.* 4. Where we find expreſs mention of the good and lawful behaviour of the *Mayor*, *Sheriffs*, and *Aldermen*, and all the Commonalty of the ſame City of *London* towards him) and *Stow*'s general Chronicle of *England*, wherein we read, at the latter end of the Life and Reign of *King Richard* the Second, That after the Duke was come from *Coventry* to St. *Albans*, about five or ſix Miles before his coming to *London*, the Mayor, and the Companies in the Liveries, with great Noiſe of Trumpets, met the Duke, doing more Reverence to him, than to the *King*, Rejoycing that GOD had ſent them ſuch a Prince that had Conquer'd the Realm, *i. e.* the **Court-party**, within one Months ſpace: Whereupon, when the Duke was come within two Miles of the City, he ſtopt his

Army, as if out of Reverence, and Acknowledgment, and in Submiſſion thereto, and ask't Advice of the Commons thereof, what they would do with the *King*; who Anſwered, they would He ſhould be led to *Weſtminſter*; upon which, to them He was delivered, and they led him accordingly to *Weſtminſter*, and from thence by Water to the Tower. Nay, ſome of the *Londoners* publickly ſhew'd themſelves ſo much His Enemies, as to Aſſemble together with an intent to have met Him without the City, and there to have Slain him for his former Severities: But the *Mayor*, and *Rulers*, and beſt of the *Commonalty*, upon Information hereof, with ſome difficulty reclaim'd them therefrom. After the Citizens had thus receiv'd the *King* into their Cuſtody, and in effect thereby made a publick Declaration of their Minds and Opinions, as to the great Change ſucceeding the Duke, we are told, entred *London* by the chief Gate, and Rode through *Cheapſide* to St. *Pauls*, and there Lodg'd for ſome time; ſo ſecure was he of the Citys good Will and Affection to him, and afterward in *October* held a *Parliament* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where the old *King*'s Depoſition, and the new *King*'s Election were compleated.

I ſhall not ſtay to make a long Paraphraſe upon the Cityes proceedings in this Affair, it being Matter of Fact, and undeniable, that the City conſented hereto, from the aforeſaid paſſages, which may be likewiſe thought very much to have influenc'd the Nation in their Elections to that *Parliament*, if, from the Annaliſts Computation, we may ſafely and truly aver, that the *Parliament-Men* were choſen after theſe Tranſactions at *London*, becauſe Forty dayes at leaſt interven'd between this time and the firſt *Wedneſday* in *October*,

ter, whereon he ſayes the *Parliament* began. If any be deſirous of another Obſervation, I leave them to their own Liberty to infer, from Hiſtory and the Premiſes, that it much conduc't to facilitate the *King*'s Depoſition, that he had no known, and generally acknowledg'd Heir, of his own Body lawfully begotten, boldly to ſtand up for Him, and ſtrongly plead his Cauſe in Armour, for his own particular Intereſt, as well as out of a due ſence of his Duty. Neither indeed do I well ſee how he could have any, ſince that he had none by his firſt Wife, that I read of, his ſecond Queen was too young, another Heir was publickly pointed out to the Nation, and he himſelf was alſo looſely addicted, as ſeems plain beyond diſpute. His Laſcivious living being hinted to us in *Burton*'s Hiſtorical Remarks of *London*, among the Articles drawn up againſt him; and we have great reaſon to think it was an imputation too true, when we read of ſeveral Ladyes expell'd the Court in the *Eleventh* of his Reign, by the Procurement of the conteſting Lords; and a little before the ſitting of the **Wonder-Working-Parliament**; and take Notice, out of *Cotton*'s Abridgment, of the *Houſe of Commons* Requeſt in the *Twentieth* Year, for the avoiding the outragious Expences of the *King*'s houſe, and namely of *Biſhops*, and *Ladyes*, and the *King*'s Anſwer thereto made, That he would be free therein; and that the *Commons* thereby had offended againſt him, his Dignity, and Liberty: Such was his Indignation againſt them for deſiring to controul him in this Point; and ſo highly incens'd was he thereat, that, to Appeaſe him, the Exhibiter of the Bill was adjudg'd to dye as a Traytor, though, upon ſome great Ones importunity, his Life was for that time ſpared,

and he himſelf at length reſtor'd in Blood, and to the recovery of his Goods, Livings, Lands, and Tennements, at the next *King*'s comming to the Crown. But how, I trow, come the Biſhops to be complain'd of by the *Commons* among the Miſſes? Were they ſuch Courters of Ladyes, as, inſtead of rebuking, to follow, or rather give bad Examples to the *King* and Country? Yet now I think on't, theſe were *Popiſh*, not *Proteſtant* Biſhops: Though I ſcarce believe, every one of them, that, to the view of the World, gives himſelf a Proteſtant Title, is able well and truly to plead not Guilty: If *Noli-fet-ole-chery*, be a Motto rightly father'd upon one of our *Weſtern* Dioceſans.

How all things in a manner concur'd to further King *Richard's* Depoſition, and that he was actually depos'd, hath already been ſpoken of, which nevertheleſs barely did not content the Party, but they would needs have it done in a formal and ſolemn way: Firſt, the King muſt make a publick Renunciation of all Right, Title and Claim to the Crown, then Commiſſioners are by the States appointed in their Names to pronounce the Stentence of his Depoſition from the Throne, and make to him a Reſignation of their homage and fealty; for their Loyalty ſeems plainly enough to have been gone before. Neither did they think this enough, but were reſolv'd over and above to leave Articles againſt him upon Record, wherein are expreſſed the ill things done by others in his Reign, and as they ſay, by his Authority, whereby they deſigned to juſtifie what they had done towards the unhappy Kings Depoſition, which viſibly pav'd the way to his Grave. So pernicious is it for Princes to ſuffer their Authority

rity to be abus'd, to ſhelter other mens Crimes, or their Names to be made uſe of, without a Preſent Reſentment, to carry on Deſigns hateful to the People, though they never conſent thereto themſelves as their own Act and Deed. For I hope we may charitably Conclude what the worſhipful Knights, Sir *Mayor* and Sir *Haughty*, the other-ill belov'd wight, did, in laying a trap to catch the Conteſting Lords in the 11th. year of this *King*, was without the *Kings* privity becauſe he ſwore it, as in page ,though poſſibly they ſhrouded themſelves under the ſhelter of his Authority, and pretended his Warrant and Command for what they deſign'd and endeavoured. And perhaps they had (as Sir *Richard Baker* words it) a warrant *Dormant*, to proſecute the *Kings* Ends without the *Kings* Knowledge.

The Articles and Objections laid againſt the *King* are to be found in *Cotton*'s Abridgment. 1. *H.* 4. whence I truſt I may ſecurely tranſcribe them, without hazarding the Courteous Readers Diſpleaſure, to ſhew him the grievances of the age, as they are there expreſt in this form of words; Beſides the Kings Oath made at his Coronation,

Firſt, for waſting and beſtowing of the Lands of the Crown upon unworthy Perſons, and over-charging the Commons with Exactions. For that the *King* by undue means procur'd divers Juſtices to ſpeak againſt the Law, to the Deſtruction of the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* at *Shrewsbury*. For that the *King* againſt his Promiſe, procured the Duke of *Ireland* ſundry Rebells about *Cheſhire*, where diverſe Murders by him were committed. For that the *King* againſt his own Promiſe and Pardon, at the Solemn Proceſſion apprehended the Duke

of *Glouceſter*, and ſent him to *Callice*, there to be choked and murdered, beheading the Earle of *Arundel*, and baniſhing the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Cobham*. For that the *Kings* Retinue, and rout gathered out of *Cheſhire* about the apprehenſion of thoſe Nobles, committed diverſe Murders, Rapes, and other Fellonies, beſides refuſing to pay for their Victuals. For that the *King* condemned the Nobles aforeſaid, for divers rodes made within the Realm, contrary to his open Proclamation. For that the *King* doubly Fined Men for their Pardons. For that the *King* to oppreſs his whole ſubjects, procured in his laſt Parliament, that the Power thereof was committed to certain Perſons. For that the *King* being ſworn to Miniſter right, did notwithſtanding enact in the laſt Parliament, that no mediation ſhould be made for the Duke of *Lancaſter*, contrary to his ſaid Oath. For that the Crown of *England* being freed from the *Pope*, and all other forraign Power, the *King* notwithſtanding procured the *Popes* Excommunication on ſuch as brake the laſt Parliament, in derogation of the Crown, Statutes and Laws of the Realm. For that the *King* baniſhed the Duke of *Lancaſter* for 10 years, without any Cauſe, as the ſame *King* openly affirmed. For that the *King* unlawfully revoked the Letters Patents made to the ſaid Duke of *Lancaſter*, in An. 21. For that the *King* contrary to the Laws and will of the Juſtices, ſuffered Sheriffs to continue longer than one year, and placed ſuch therein, as were unfit. For that the *King* repayed not to his Subjects debts of them borrowed. For that the *King* in the time of Truce and Peace, exacted great Subſidies, and waſted the ſame about frivilous matters. For that the *King* refuſed to execute the

Laws,

Laws, Saying that the Laws were in his Mouth and Breaſt. For that the *King*, by procuring by Statutes that he might be free as any of his Progenitors, did under colour thereof ſubvert Laws according to his Will. For that the *King* procured Knights of the Shires to be made to ſerve his own will. For that the *King* enforced Sheriffs to be Sworn to execute all Commandemens, under the *Great Seal*, *Privy Seal*, or *Signet*, contrary to their accuſtomed Oaths. For that the *King* to wrack mony from his Subjects, procured 17 ſeveral Shires to ſubmit themſelves to his Grace, whereby great ſums of mony were Levied. For that the King being Sworn to obſerve the Liberties of the Church, notwithſtanding, at his Voyage into *Ireland*, enforced diverſe Religious Perſons to give Horſe, Armour, and Carts. For that the Juſtices, for their good Councel given to the *King*, were with evil Countenance, and threats rewarded. For that the *King* of his own Will, in paſſing into *Ireland*, carried with him, the *Treaſures*, *Reliques*, and other *Jewels* of the Realm, which were uſed ſafely to be kept in the *Kings* own *Coffers* from all hazard: and for that the ſame *King* cancelled, and razed ſundry Records.

For that the *King* by writing to Forreign Princes, and to his own Subjects, is reputed univerſally, a moſt variable and diſſembling man. For that the *King* would commonly ſay among the Nobles, that all Subjects, Lives, *Lands*, and *Goods*, were in his hands without any forfeiture. For that the *King* ſuffered his Subjects to be condemned by Marſhal-Law, contrary to his Oath and the Laws of the Realm. For that the Subjects being only bound by their Allegiance, were

yet driven to take certain New Oaths, for ſerving the folly of the *King*. For that the *King* by his private Letters, would charge the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters in any new Canonical matter, to ſtay, contrary to his Oath. For that the *King* by force in his Parliament, baniſhed the Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury*, without any good Ground. For that the *King* by his laſt Will paſſed under the *Great Seal*, and *Privy Signet*, gave unto his Succeſſors, certain Money and Treaſure, upon Condition to perform all the Acts and Orders in the laſt Parliament, which being ungodly and unlawful, he meant as ungodlily to dy in. For that the *King* in the 11th. of his Reign, in his Chappel, in the Manour of *Langley*, in the preſence of the Duke of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, and others, received the Sacrament of the Lords Body, that he would never impeach the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Uncle, for any thing before done; and yet to the Contrary procured him to be murdered. For that the *King* moſt fraudulently and untruely againſt his own Oath, Baniſhed the Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and waſted his Goods: in which Article, in private Conference between the ſaid Arch Biſhop, the *King* in a manner propheſied, and doubted that the like would happen of himſelf; and thereupon ſhewed a ſpecial Token to the Arch Biſhop, That if he ſent the ſame at any time, that the Arch Biſhop ſhould look that the King would come to him.

Theſe were the Imputations laid to his charge, and that they were then thought true, or at leaſt not contradicted, is ſelf-Evident, all ſeeming highly deſirous of a Change, and few diſpos'd to eſpouſe the depos'd Kings Cauſe and Intereſt, ſo furious and violent was the Current of the Times,

Times, as to bear away well nigh all before it: That Parliament being ſo full of the new Kings Favourers, and ſo empty of the old Kings true and cordial Friends, that I remember to have read of but one, *viz.* the Loyal Biſhop of *Carliſle*; who, after a little Demur of a few dayes time, upon a Motion made in Parliament about the diſpoſal of King *Richard*, ſtood up boldly, and undauntedly, for his old Lord and Maſter, in the midſt of his profeſſed, and declared Enemies, and known Deſerters. His Speech (as a rare Example of Fidelity giving us the very Quinteſſence of Loyalty) I ſhall venture to ſet down out of Sir *Richard Bakers* Chronicle, with the Conſequents as follows.

"My Lords, The Matter now propounded, "is of marvellous Weight and Conſequence, "wherein there are two Points chiefly to be con- "ſidered; The Firſt, whether King *Richard* be "ſufficiently put out of his Throne; The Second, "whether the Duke of *Lancaſter* be lawfully taken "in. For the Firſt, How can that be ſufficient- "ly done, when there is no Power ſufficient to "do it? The Parliament cannot, for of the Par- "liament the King is the Head; and can the "Body put down the Head? You will ſay, but "the Head may bow it ſelf down; and may the "King reſign? It is true; but what force is in that "which is done by force? And who knows not that "King *Richard*'s Reſignation was no other? But ſup- "poſe he be ſufficiently out, yet how comes the "Duke of *Lancaſter* to be lawfully in? If you "ſay by Conqueſt, you ſpeak Treaſon; For what "Conqueſt without Arms? And can a Subject take "Arms againſt his lawful Soveraign, and not be

"Trea-

"Treaſon? If you ſay by Election of the State, "you ſpeak not reaſon; for what Power hath "the State to Elect, while any is Living that "hath Right to Succeed? But ſuch a Succeſſor "is not the Duke of *Lancaſter*, as deſcended "from *Edmund Crouchback*, the Elder Son of "King *Edward* the *Third*, though put by the "Crown for deformity of his Body; for who "knows not the falſeneſs of this Allegation? See-"ing it is a thing Notorious, that this *Edmund* "was neither the Elder Brother, nor yet *Crook-*"*Back'd* (though called ſo from ſome other rea-"ſon) but a goodly Perſonage, and without any "deformity. And your ſelves cannot forget a "thing ſo lately done, who it was that in the "Fourth Year of King *Richard* was declared by "Parliament to be Heir to the Crown, in caſe "King *Richard* ſhould dye without Iſſue. But "why then is not that Claim made? Becauſe ſi-"lent *Leges inter Arma*, What diſputing of Titles a-"gainſt the ſtream of Power? But however it is "extream Injuſtice, that King *Richard* ſhould be "condemn'd, without being heard, or once al-"lowed to make his Defence. And now, My "Lords, I have ſpoken thus at this time, that "you may conſider of it before it be too late; "for as yet it is in your Power to undo that "juſtly, which you have unjuſtly done.

Much to this Purpoſe was the Biſhop's Speech; but to as little purpoſe as if he had gone about to call back Yeſterday. The Matter was too far gone; and ſcarce a Perſon there preſent, that had not a Hope of either a private or pub-lick Benefit by that which was done. Yet againſt this Speech of the Biſhop, there was neither pro-teſting

teſting nor excepting: It paſſed in the Houſe as but one Man's Opinion: And as for the King, it was neither fit he ſhould uſe much Severity againſt any Member of that Parliament, which had ſo lately ſhewed ſo much Indulgence towards him; nor indeed ſafe, to be too hot in his Puniſhment, when he was yet ſcarce warm in his Government. Yet for a warning to uſe their Liberty of Speech with more Moderation hereafter; the Biſhop was Arreſted by the Marſhal, and Committed to Priſon in the *Abby* of St. *Albans*; but afterwards, without further Cenſure, ſet at Liberty, till upon a Conſpiracy of Lords, wherein he was a Party; he was Condemned to Dye, though through Extremity of Grief he prevented Execution. Thus far the Chronicle.

King *Henry* is now got into the Throne, (*Richard* being thruſt into a Priſon, and afterwards into his Grave) and yet I don't find him ſo ſecure and well ſettled, but that he had many open Enemies ever and anon to Conteſt with, and not a few ſecret diſguis'd Ones to fear and ſuſpect, with ſo many prickly Thorns was his new-gotten Crown lin'd. Therefore we have little reaſon to believe, he would ever wilfully diſoblidge that City, whoſe Power and Strength he ſo well knew. The Mummery deſign'd by ſome diſcontented Lords to be acted upon him at *Twelfthtide* at *Windſor*, in the Firſt of his Reign; The Battle fought between him and Sir *Henry Hotſpur*, at *Shrewsbury* in the *Third*: The Riſing about *York* in the *Sixth*: And the Battle of *Bramham Moore* in the *Eighth*, beſides ſeveral other ſecret Attempts and Conſpiracies, were as ſo many Admonitions to him to Fortify himſelf, what he could, with the Citizens love and affection, as his

his ſureſt earthly Bulwark and Defence, next to his proſperous Succeſs in the aforeſaid Conteſts, which prevented the diſcontented from coming near enough to *London*, to attempt the raiſing there of new Broils and Commotions to diſturb his Repoſe, and the Cities Peace, if he had any Evil-willers therein capable of receiving ill Impreſſions. As perhaps he had but few there, ſuch Care he took to oblidge them, and ſcarce any occaſion given to breed Murmurs and Complaints among them. For He, who meerly at the Commons requeſt, in the *Fifth* of his Reign, remov'd Four of his Menial Servants out of his Houſe, when he openly declar'd in Parliament, he then knew no cauſe thereof, but only for that they were hated of the People; and ſo often gratified his Houſe of Commons in their Petitions about his prime and principal Officers, and privy Councellors, muſt needs be thought more ready to encreaſe the Number of his Friends, than to make himſelf more Enemies, eſpecially in a City of ſuch great Riches, Power, and Strength, as *London* was then known to be beyond denial, diſpute, or contradiction.

The City flouriſhed under this King in the Renovation of old, the *Guildhall* of *London*, and the Erecting of new publick Structures, the Conduit upon *Cornhil*, and the *Stocks-Market-Houſe*; was famous abroad for the abundance of her Traffique, and number of her Traders; and increas'd at home in Repute and Renown, by the prevailing of her Mayor, and Commonalty, in their Conteſt with the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Lords, and Knights, about pulling up the Wares in *Thames*, (over which by their Charter they claim'd a large Power as Conſervators of that their beloved River) beſides the many grounds and reaſons

the

the King had to Glory in his confidence of the Love and Loyalty of her Citizens, and rejoyce in the continuance of their Affection to him and his Family. As is evident from the timely Advertisement the Mayor brought him, in the *First* of his Reign, of the Conspiracy of the discontented Lords (who, under the colour of *Christmas* Pastimes, as Mumming, *&c.* design'd Treacherously to have Slain him) to the forcing him very seasonably, as incredulous as he was before, into a belief of the reality of the Plot, and accompanied him the same Night from *Windsor* to *London*; whereby he purchas'd to himself Security, disappointed the Conspirators, and got time and opportunity to punish the Plotters. And may also be inferr'd from the successful care the *Mayor*, *Sheriffs*, and other *Citizens* took in stilling the midnight difference happening in *Eastcheap* on *Midsomer-Eve*, in the *Twelfth* of his Reign, when two of his younger Sons Sup't there late at Night, and might consequently have been greatly indanger'd, had the Tumult lasted any time. These are Instances I find expresly mention'd in History; and who knows how many more there might be, that were never so much taken Notice of by the Writers of that Age, as to be carefully transmitted to Posterity by their Pens? Peradventure there were many more Evidences. But I will not so much insist upon an Argument, that is but barely possible and probable, nor, with folly and impertinence enough, stay to beg the Point of the Reader upon an uncertain surmise and conjecture. Though it would be as absurd in him to affirm, That all things ever done in the World, since the Invention of Letters, have been committed to Paper, as it would be monstrously Ridiculous in me to pretend, to have seen and read all things re-

remarkable, that ever were Wrote of this Honourable City, and her praise-worthy Actions. 'Tis enough for my weakness and inability if I can tolerably make out what I have here design'd, concerning the Honour and Renown of this so famous and powerful a City, without offering at all the attesting Proofs, and confirming Evidences, that are to be found on Record. And if this Attempt shall be well accepted, it may haply be an encouragement to some more Learned, more Able, & more Skilful Pen, to produce the other more convincing Arguments, scatter'd up and down in the Annals, Chronicles, and other Monuments of Historians, and by gathering together all the divided fragments of Remark, reduce them into one solid, firm, and lasting Peice, or make better improvement of the Arguments and Evidences here produc'd.

Come we now to *Henry* the 5th. A Prince not so wild in his Youth, when a Subject, and by his Father suspected of ambitious designs, (though Causlesly, and on no better grounds and reasons, than the Calumnies, Slanders, and detractions of evil disposs'd persons about the Court) as celebrated, when King, for the prudent Reformation of his own Person, wise Conduct of his affairs, and happy Government of the Realm, for his Valour, Magnanimity, and Heroical Actions, and the ever Glorious Achievements of his Reign, being one of the most Martial Princes, that ever sate upon the *English* Throne, and beyond all his Predecessors Succesfull in his *French* Expeditions. So that if *Cressy* and *Poictiers* have highly advanced the Name and Renown of the famous Black Prince, *Agincourt* shall eternize *Henry* of *Monmouth* through all Generations, and with this addition of unparalleld Glory, That he liv'd and dyed in the heighth

heighth of Grandeur, and his Victories were not fulli-
ed with after Reproaches. Under therefore ſo
Renowned a Conqueror, and ſo Good a King,
'tis no marvel that we read of no troubles in our
Engliſh Jeruſalem, nor hear of Complaints in her
Streets. We may expect rather to hear of the
Gallantry of Rareeſhews and fine ſights, Pageants
and Preſents, the harmonious concent of *Trum-
pets* and *Drums*, and the tunable Muſick of *Bells*,
the loud ſounding Acclamation of People, and the
unaccountable Number of *Bonfires*, and fire-works,
the Common conſequents of Victories, and Try-
umphs, and the uſual Entertainment of Conquerours.

Wherefore I ſhould now paſs on of courſe to the
next Kings reign, but that by the way I ſhall
venture to treſpaſs a little upon the Readers Pa-
tience, and to make an Obſervation or two upon
the grounds and occaſional Cauſes of reviving the
War with *France*, which was under this King at-
tended with ſuch a Train of Victories. We are
to know then from ſuch Authentick Authors, as
Fabian, *Baker* and the like, that the Commons
harping upon the ſame ſtring, they did in *Henry*
the 4th. days, *viz.* the Clergies Temporalties, by
bringing in a *Bill* to take them away, the Biſhops,
to divert the ſtorm, put the King upon claim-
ing *France* as his Right, and offered him conſi-
derable ſums of mony to engage and aſſiſt him
therein, whereby the Cloud, before hanging over
their heads, was made to break upon the *French*
Coaſts, & they, who by their Office ſhould have ap-
prov'd themſelves the Peace-makers of the world,
ſtir'd up the Furies of War & deſtruction, and inci-
ted their Country-men to ſheath their *Swords* in their
Neighbours Bowels, to preſerve to themſelves
their large Revenues and worldly grandeur, their
much

much envied Lands, Honours, and Preferments.

Another advantage they likewiſe laid hold on, to Promote their own Earthly advancement, by making uſe of this opportunity, to ſuppreſs the growth and encreaſe of the *Wickliviſts*, the *Puritans* and *Presbyterians* of the age, whoſe Numbers began now more and more to encreaſe in *City* and *Country*, and grew formidable to the whole *Popiſh Hierarchy*. Theſe men, whom they could not vanquiſh by dint of Argument, ſo conformable were their Doctrines to the Scriptures, they thought it eaſier to oppreſs by the Civil Authority, and the Power of the Magiſtrates Sword, whereon they had of late ſet a keener Edg, by procuring ſome laws to be made againſt them, under the Name and Notion of Lollards. And yet, ſuch was the ill fate of oppoſing the ſpreading of the Goſpel, that theſe Aſſertors of it's verity, like the Primitive Chriſtians of old, dayly encreaſt in Numbers and Repute under their oppreſſions, and grew every age more mumerous in ſpight of all the malice and oppoſition of their cruel and blood thirſty Enemies: and much too by the ſame way and methods, the Evidence of truth, and influence of good lives and Exemplary Converſations. Like the ancient Chriſtians they were driven into holes and ſecret places, into private Conventicles and ſeparate Aſſemblies. And though they were not, like them, at every turn cal'd upon to be caſt to the *Lions*, for diſobeying the Emperours Edicts and Commands, yet away with them to the fire, and to burning of the Hereticks, or in a little ſofter phraiſe, to putting the Kings Laws in Execution, were the common outcryes made againſt them.

But becauſe the diverſity of their Religion and their

their difference in opinion from the reſt of the Nation, were not thought Incentives ſtrong enough to ſtir up the popular Rage & Fury, a more Compendious way was found out, inſtead of charging on their account all the Miſchiefs, Miſeries, and Diſaſters of the Times, to lay the deteſtable Crimes of Treaſon and Conſpiracy at their doors. Hence may we conclude ſprung the Informations, given into the King, of ſome, that had conſpir'd ſuddenly to have Slain Him and his Brethren, and of numerous Aſſemblies meeting in St. *Giles*'s Fields to that End. Hereon poſſibly may we ground the Rumour ſpread abroad of great offers made of Money by Sir *John Oldcaſtles* Favourers to the *Scots*, to invade the Realm in the Kings abſence in *France*, of the meeting of Sir *John* himſelf (who was a known *Wickliviſt*) with *Douglas* the *Scot* at *Pomfract*, on the ſame Errand, and of Indentures and other Writings made betwixt him and the Duke of *Albany*, containing Inſtructions to the *Scots* to beſiege *Roxborough* and *Barwick*. Such Stories may we look upon, as Reports likely enough to have been purpoſely ſpread abroad, to ſtir up the Peoples Animoſities againſt the Diſſenters of the times: Hitherto likewiſe haply may we impute the Original of the *Schedules*, ſaid to be nail'd upon the Church doors in *London*, with threats of an hundred thouſand Men, ready to riſe upon Occaſion. *Stow* indeed, out of *Walſingham* the Monk, charges them upon *Wickliſts* favourers; yet have we reaſon to ſuſpect the firſt Author, as too partial in the Caſe, and queſtion whether theſe were not *Popiſh* Shams put upou the Nation by the *Wickliviſts* Enemies, to raiſe a colour for an Out-cry againſt them. For at the Parliament of the *Fifth* of this King, we read, in *Cotton*'s Abridgment, of an haynous complaint againſt Inſurrecti-

rections; & in the end (mind this) they ſuſpect they were Lollards & Traitors; which made a way for a Requeſt that Commiſſions at all times be granted to enquire of them. Whoever was Originally in fault, we may ſee from this where the blame ſhould light, and the ſevereſt Proſecution too, could the *Popiſh* Prelates have had their Will, notwithſtanding the ſlightneſs of their thin-ſpun pretences, and weakneſs of their groundleſs Imputations. A pretty device, to make Riots and Inſurrections; and then accuſe the contrary Party of them, as if they had been ſo Fanatical, as tumultuouſly to meet together, *vi & armis*, without any Arms about them, or Weapons in their hands, to diſturb the Kings Peace; and with no worſe deſign, than the Warrant of annual Cuſtoms, whereon ſome, in an unheard of manner, without Law or Reaſon, and contrary to common ſence, intruded, to deprive them of the benefit thereof.

Out of the forementioned Monkiſh Writer, *Stow* tells us of an Army of Twenty Five Thouſand, that were to have met Sir *John* in St. *Giles*'s Fields; and yet for all this great Cry we find not One Hundred taken, though he affirms Sixty Nine of them to be condemn'd of Treaſon (upon ſuch kind of proofs perhaps, as theſe, whereon the Compoſer of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*'s Life makes him to have been found Guilty of Treaſon in the *Firſt* of King *James*, for which he had the honour to be Beheaded about Forty Years after, upon his Return from his unſucceſsful *Guyana* Voyage) and Thirty Seven Hang'd. But the Record out of the Kings-Bench, the moſt authentick Evidence, mentions only, That Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, and others, to the number of Twenty Men, call'd *Lollards*, at St. *Giles*, did conſpire to Subvert the State of the *Clergy* (this it ſeems then was the

the principal Offence; the reſt Aggravations, without which the Scales could not have been well weigh'd down) and to Kill the King, and his Brother, and other Nobles, as any *Engliſh* Reader may ſee in *Cottons* Abridgment at the afore-cited Parliament of the *Fifth* of this King. Where now are any good grounds for this malicious Out-cry upon the Diſſenting *Wickliviſts* for Traiterous Plotters and Conſpirators: And whats become of the great Army that Fame and Report had Rais'd? But perhaps the Inn-keepers, in the adjacent Hamlets, and neighbouring Villages, were not only their familiar Friends, but intimate Acquaintance; as Mr. *Bags* ingenuity (to the elevating, and ſurprizing of our Minds) hath taught us to expreſs it; how otherwiſe this *Achilles*, and his dreadful Army of *Mirmidons*, could have continued thus unſeen, and ſlipt away in Diſguiſe, ſeems not reconcileable to Sence and Reaſon. And yet how ſuch great Numbers could have lain hid within the compaſs of a *Readmote*, or have been put like *Homers Iliads* in a *Nut-ſhell*, is a thing that paſſeth all my underſtanding to conceive. If ever ſuch a thing was, as doubtleſs it never hapned in *Europe*, nor amongſt either our antient or modern Reformers; certainly then this unconceivable Wonder muſt have fell out in the Reign of *Queen Dick*, King of no Lands, upon the *Terra incognita* of ſome other of the *Fairy* Iſlands, bordering upon *Utopia*; where Prince *Oberon* and Queen *Mab* liv'd in dayly dread and fear of King *Arthur*, Sir *Lancelot*, and Sir *Triſtram*, and the reſt of the Knights of his round Table, or miſerably perplext themſelves every hour and minute with needleſs Scruples, Jealouſies, and Suſpicions, about the unimagin'd Deſigns of the Noble Duke *Ogier*, to advance himſelf and his little *Mervine*, who af-

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terwards did ſuch heroick Exploits upon the *Souldan* of *Babylon*, and his bloody cut-throat Army of *Sarazens*, when he turn'd to the Aſſiſtance of the famous *Charlemain* and his Peers.

But laying aſide theſe idle Stories of the Monkiſh Romancers, I paſs on, from our famous win-All, *Henry* of *Monmouth*, to the unfortunate *Engliſh* loſe-All, *Henry* of *Windſor*, a far better Man than *King*, as being more intentive upon the Devotions of the Times, than the Government of his Realm; and better skill'd in his Beads, than his Scepter: and therefore ſeems rather cut out for a Prieſt than a Prince. In this Kings Minority, while ſuch great States-men and Patriots, as his moſt renowned Uncles, *Bedford* and *Glouceſter*, ſate at the Helm, and ſteadily Steer'd the Ship of the *Common-Wealth*, one by his Arms, the other by his Arts, Honour, and Renown attended upon the *Engliſh* Banners in *France*; and the Land at Home in peace and quietneſs Flouriſhed under the benign Influence of their ſucceſsful Councels, for the moſt part free from civil Broils and Commotions; King *Henry* being in actual Poſſeſſion of both Crowns, under the conduct of ſuch noble and worthy Directors. But when Death had ſnatch'd away one from his Regency in *France*; and the other was diſmiſt from his Protectorſhip in *England* through the courſe of time: The King being grown in Years, and come to ripeneſs of Age, though not it ſeems to ſuch a degree of underſtanding, as might capacitate him to act the part of a King, further than in Name and Shew; his Affairs in forreign Parts ſoon went miſerably to wrack; and being turn'd out of almoſt all beyond Sea, deadly Fewds and Animoſities (the uſual attendants of ill Succeſs abroad) encreaſt ſo faſt at Home, between the Nobles and great Perſons

ſons of the Realm, and ſuch inteſtine Jars ſprung up in the Nation, that after many Battles fought, and much Royal Blood ſpilt, the *York* Party prevail'd over the *Lancaſtrians*; and the poor King himſelf, though the Miracle of Age for Devotion, loſt his Crown, Life, and All at laſt.

Whether 'twas purely the ill ſucceſs abroad, or the ill management of the State at home, the unhappy Fate attending the Kings Matching with Queen *Margaret*, to the breach of a former Contract, or the unſeaſonable ſtirring of her and her accomplices to Suppreſs, Ruine, and Root out the other Party, whereby they were compell'd for their own Security to link themſelves together in the ſtricteſt bonds of Confederacy, and ſtand continually upon their own Guard: Whether the weakneſs of the King, or the reſtleſs Spirit of the Queen (too Active for her Sex), The much reſented Death of the Duke of *Glocester*, or the ſubtle Arts and Devices of the Duke of *York* (into the particulars whereof I will not now deſcend, as being the Subject of a diſtinct Treatiſe by it ſelf) and the Popularity of the great Earl of *Warwick*. Whether 'twas any of theſe ſingle, or all of them joyntly concurring, or rather the over-ruling Providence of an Almighty Being, that made this ſtrange Alteration in the Face of things, to the dethroning of one Prince (the moſt devoted of his time to religious Exerciſes) and exalting of another, as much given to Women, as the former to Religion, whereby the White Roſe overtopt the Red: Certain it is, the City of *London* had a great Influence upon theſe Tranſactions, and the favour the Citizens bore to the Duke of *York*, and his Party, contributed highly to the advancing of his Intereſt above the King Regnants, if they were not the only grand cauſes under Heaven, that produc't ſuch wonderful and ſtupendious Effects. This the

more clearly to demonſtrate, I ſhall not oblidge my ſelf exactly to trace the whole Series of State affairs, through the following Princes Reigns, nor over-ſcrupulouſly confine my ſelf to the Life of this or that King diſtinctly and apart. But deſign to view the differences between *York* and *Lancaſter* in the lump, conſidering them under the Notion of one particular Conteſt, though of a long and large durance, and throughout with all plainneſs and perſpicuity, I can lay claim to, ſhew what powerful Rays of Influence from *London* were ſhed abroad upon the Face of the Land. For I intend not to Write an Abridgement of *Englands* general Hiſtory, as having only undertaken a particular Argument relating to this Honourable Cities Fame, Renown, and Glory abroad; Strength, Riches, and Power at home within her ſelf; and the various Influences ſhe caſt all over *England* in the more ſpecial turns and changes of Affairs: For the reſt, the Curious may peruſe the laborious Works of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians.

Therefore, chooſing my own Method, I ſhall make a diviſion of what I have to produce in this place, into two Parts or general Heads, under which I hope to comprehend the moſt material Paſſages I meet with ſutable to the deſign and purport of this Attempt: The firſt containing Inſtances of *Londons* affection to the Red Roſe; and the other ſhewing the ſollicitous care and regard ſhe had for the preſervation, growth, and advancement of the White.

Firſt then and foremoſt, to begin with the Citizens reſpect to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, who bore the Red Roſe for their Badg, of their continued Favour and Affection thereto, in the prime of its flouriſhing condition, while the many and great Victories gain'd in *France* were yet freſh in their Memories, and *Henry* the *Sixth* enjoy'd the Fruits of his Fathers

Fathers Labours, and retain'd the *Engliſh* Conqueſts therein; there is no doubt to be made. But I preſume I have a much ſtronger proof to produce, from no leſs convincing an Argument than Statute Law (as authentick an Evidence in the Caſe, as the Subject is capable of) to be found *Anno octavo Henrici ſexti. cap.* 11. where we have expreſs mention made of the entire affections and great kindneſſes done, and ſhewed to the ſaid King, in all his Affairs, by the Citizens of the City of *London*; which to reward, and for the future the more to encourage, the King was induc'd by Authority of Parliament to give them leave to put and take in Apprentices according to their ancient manner, form, or cuſtom; of which they had ſome time before been abridg'd by a former Statute, to the great hindrance and damage likely thereby to redound to them.

If any ſhall require further Inſtances hereof, let them but have recourſe to the Annals of this Kings Reign; and there I doubt not but they'l have their Expectations anſwer'd, and their Curioſity highly ſatisfied, when they ſhall have carefully and thorowly obſerv'd the Noble Equipage of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens in the *Tenth* Year, when they rode forth to meet the King upon his return out of *France*, the Pomp and Gallantry, wherewith they receiv'd him at *London*, and entertain'd him in his paſſage through it, and the coſtly Preſent they made him afterwards at *Weſtminſter*: And take Notice of their ſplendid appearance in Scarlet, blew Gowns, broider'd Sleeves, and red Hoods, to convey his Princely Bride, Queen *Margaret*, through the City in the *Twenty-Third* of his Reign.

But, when this Dayſy Flower of *France* being thus linkt to the Red Roſe of *England*, the Queen, and her Creatures rul'd all about the King at home, and things went every day worſe and worſe abroad,

through Envy and Emulation among the Nobles, and negligence of the Kings Councel, ill conduct and management of State Affairs by the new Favourites at Court; and the good Duke of *Gloceſter*, greatly belov'd and ador'd among the Commons, was privily taken out of the way in a clandeſtine manner, to the great and bitter reſentments of the People; the Citizens ſoon began to alter in their affections and inclinations, and look with favourable Eyes upon the oppoſite Party, then ſpringing up under *Richard* Duke of *York*, the chief and principal Head thereof, whoſe Sails, upon the aforeſaid Dukes death, being full blown with freſh Gales of Ambition, He became a ſecret pretender to the Crown, and privately among his Familiars whiſper'd a more plauſible Right and Title thereto, than the King *Regnant* himſelf had, though in actual Poſſeſſion. Yet they did not ſo ſoon forget their old Love, as preſently to ſide with the *Yorkiſts* againſt the *Lancaſtrians*, but ſeem for a while to have continued, as it were, in a ſtate of indifferency, ſometimes favouring the one, ſometimes the other, as if uncertain with whom to ſide, till the Number of publick Grievances being greatly encreaſt, or elſe more eagerly and plainly remonſtrated to them by the other Party; they more openly at length ſhifted all their Sails, and with fix't Reſolutions eſpous'd the *Yorkiſt* Intereſt, and ſo that Family got Poſſeſſion of the Throne thereby. Then which, what greater Evidence can there be of the Cities Power and Influence in thoſe Times? And yet in this interval and ſpace of time, which I venture, and I hope with truth enough, to term the State of her indifferency or neutrality, ſeveral other Inſtances of her Power are produceable for the further illuſtration of the Point in hand, to demonſtrate beyond diſpute, that the variation, alteration, and change of the Citizens Minds over-rul'd

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the Affairs of the State in each turn and change of Things, though as mutable for a ſeaſon, as the ebbing and flowing of the Sea; yet likewiſe as ſucceſsful as the turning, or returning of the Tyde, in bearing all before them.

The firſt Inſtance that comes to my hand, ſhall be that of *Jack Cade*, Captain *Mendal*, who calling himſelf *Mortimer* Couzen to the Duke of *Yorke*, upon the ſpecious promiſes of reforming grievances, and freeing the Commons from immoderate Taxes and Impoſitions, the fame of keeping good Orders among his people, and his ſucceſsfull overthrow of the *Staffords* with other Hotſpurs of the Court, at *Seven-Oke-Wood*, had ſo ſtrengthned himſelf, (the *City* of *London* being at that time ſaith *Stow* full favourable to him) that, upon the King and Queens remove from the *City* to *Killingworth Caſtle*, diſtruſting their own Servants and Soldiers, he came to *Southwarke* and marched over the *Bridg* in good Order into the *City*, with ſuch Confidence and aſſurance that paſſing along by *London-Stone*, he ſtruck it with his *Sword* and ſaid, *Now is* Mortimer *Lord of* London; and ſo poſſibly might have continued (he had ſo won the Hearts of the Commons by his orderly behaviour, and got ſuch an encreaſe of Power, as to give the Mayor Orders how he would have his People diſpos'd of, they coming and going freely as they pleas'd) had he but followed the Mayors Advice, who bad him take heed, he attempted nothing againſt the Quiet of the City, and made good his own Reply; *Let the World take notice of our honeſt Intention by our Actions.*

But when he once grew ſo inconſiderately Inſolent, as to fall a robbing the Citizens themſelves, he preſently loſt their Favour and good Will; the honeſt and wealthy Commons diſliking ſuch extravagant Proceedings, and then the Mayor and Aldermen,

with

with their Assistance took Councel together, to drive him and his Adherents out of the City, and oppose his further entrance thereunto. The effect whereof in the Issue was, that, After a sharp bickering and contest upon the Bridge, the Mayor and the Citizens got the better, the *Kentish* Men were worsted, a truce for a few hours was concluded on, whereof the Lord *Chancellor* took the Advantages by a general pardon to disperse the malecontent, and *Cade* himself was within a little time after Slain in a Garden in *Sussex*, So fatal was it to him by this his Robberies thus to have displeas'd the *Citizens*. For *Fabian* tells us expresly, that had it not been for that, he might have gone far, and brought his purpose to good effect, if he had intended well. And so Prejudicial might it have been to the Court, had he not by these extravagancies forfeited that favour and respect, which had before been shewn him at *London* to such a degree, that the Commons were very highly incens'd against Alderman *Horne*, for opposing the admission of him and his company thereinto, at a Common-Councel held by the Mayor at *Guild-Hall*, and speaking vehemently against such, as were for his entrance, and ceas'd not, saith the *Annalist*, till they had him committed to *New-gate*. But now the tide is turn'd again, and the King himself is joyfully received by the *Citizens* of that very same place, from whence ere-while he thought it his best security to depart. As the *Citizens* Favour ebb'd and flow'd, such was the posture of his affairs, in the wane or the full, so stood his fortune, either increasing or decreasing: whereof here is a demonstration, that no body can deny, that has but an Historial Faith, unless he would have us believe, that the many Historians, that writ hereof, could joyn altogether in an unusual confederacy, at several times and from several places,

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to impose a manifest falshood upon posterity. An Opinion almost as absur'd, (pardon the comparison) though not to that degree, as theirs, who as foolishly as prophanely fancy the original Penmen of the Scriptures made a mutual agreement (though in several ages and from different parts of the Universe) to obtrude those writings upon the World for the Word of the Eternal God, out of I know not what design of State-Policy to keep the Common People in greater aw and subjection to their Governours.

How fair a Cast the *Yorkists* lately had for the Game through the City's Favour, till their own ill management lost it, we have seen. But that was not all. It left such a rub in their way, that it may be suppos'd to have spoyl'd their bowling upon the next open adventure. For in the *thirtieth* year the Duke of *York* in Person having rais'd an Army, upon disgusts and pretences, and the King being in the Head of another to oppose Him, He turns out of the way, and eschews the Kings Army, and hastens as fast as he could up to *London*, hoping doubtless for assistance or recruits thence, but being deceived in his expectations, upon notice given him that the *Londoners* would not admit his entrance, to refresh himself or his People, he straightways passes away from *London* over the *Thames* into *Kent*, and what pray now was the event hereof? Not according to his wishes successful we may be sure. For from the History we may easily perceive, he thought it his greatest interest to come to terms of accommodation with the King (had not such been his apprehensions, doubtless he would not have yielded thereto) dismisses his Army, and comes in Person into his Majesties Presence, where quarrelling with the Duke of *Somerset*, he himself was accused of conspiring the Kings Death,

and

and usurpation of the Crown, and sent before the King as a Prisoner to *London*, where he was kept a while, till upon a Report of his Sons coming with another Army towards *London*, the Queen and Her Councel thought it convenient to set him at Liberty, upon taking openly his Oath of Submission aud Allegiance, at the High-Altar in St. *Pauls-Church*, before the King and great part of His Nobility.

To what a plunge was the Duke and his party here driven, and with how many difficultyes did the King and his side likewise contest, while neither of them were absolutely sure and certain of the *City*, that she would cordially assist the one against the other. *York* was disappointed in his Hopes and Confidence of the *Citys* favour, and thereupon had run himself into great danger, for which he knew at that Instant no better remedy, than to swear over again his Allegiance to him, whom he had intended and designed for a long time to depose. The Kings Party heard of an Army marching up towards *London* against them, and rather then venture to throw themselves upon the hazard of a battail, without better assurance of the *Citys* Love and affection, they consented to set at Liberty the Head of the opposite Party, then in their Hands a Prisoner, and permit him to go whither he pleas'd, notwithstanding they had so much reason to fear and dread his Designs. And possibly they esteem'd it greater wisdom to Temporise for a Season, till they had made their Party visibly stronger in *London*, and more able to cope with that secret reserve of favourers, which they might fear the Duke of *York* had still in the City, as concluding him and his party a litle better advised, than to break out into open Arms against the present established Government, without some probability of help and assistance thence, or at least some suggestions thereof before they put on their

Armour.

Armour. This ſeeming not an irrational ſuppoſal, appears to me to carry the face of another argument of the Citys Power. For tis undeniably plain, that the *Yorkiſts* carryed the day, when ſhe afterwards within a few years declared her ſelf openly for them, as I ſhall come by and by to ſhew, when I have produc'd two or three paſſages more, as further evincing proofs of this Honourable Citys Strength and Influence.

One is noted in *Fabian* in the *Thirtyfifth* year, upon occaſion of diſſention and unkindneſs hapning between the young Duke of *Somerſet* and the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Son, both at that time lodg'd within the *City*. For the *Mayor*, having notice hereof, is expreſly ſaid to have ordain'd ſuch Watches and Proviſions in the *City*, that if either had ſtir'd, he was able to have ſubdued both Partyes, and kept them in dureſs till he had known the Kings further Pleaſure. And the Event was anſwerable to his Intent. For the Friends on both ſides, being well aware of the ſtrict Watch and Ward, and the Conſequents thereof, labour'd ſo effectually for an Accommodation, that they concluded an Agreement between them for that time, without any further diſturbance for the preſent that we read of: So well able were the *Citizens* to keep and preſerve the Kings peace, whether they would or no. They durſt not provoke each other to open Hoſtilityes in that *City*, whoſe Power and Armes they had moſt aſſuredly raiſed about their ears, to their mutual diſadvantage, had they been guilty of ſuch unadvised raſhneſs and daring preſumption, as to ſlight and contemn her Magiſtrates Order and Reſolution. An other ſtands on Record, in the ſame Author and other Writers, among the next years tranſactions, under the Majoralty of *Godfery Boleyn* and Shrievalries of *William Edward* and *Thomas Keyner*. For upon the Kings calling

Calling of a grand Councel at *London*, to accommodate differences, and the Lords of each Party coming up thereto with great Retinues, they having from *Four-hundred* to *One-thousand-Five-hundred* in a Company, & lodging some within & some without the *City*, holding their Consultation apart each from other, as if at mutual defyance, and ready to put all to the decision of the *Sword*, the Mayor kept *Five-thousand Citizens* (as *Fabian* Numbers them) dayly in Arms, riding about the *City* and *Subburbs* to preserve the peace, and for the night Watch provided *Two-thousand* to give Attendance upon three Aldermen till *Seven* a clock next morning, that the day Watch was set, by reason whereof (continues my Author) good order and rule was kept, and no man so hardy once to attempt the breaking the Kings peace. The Councel was held in quietness, and a Reconciliation patch'd up for the time. For who durst move when the *City* says nay?

Several such Instances are to be seen in the Chronicles, and have been hinted before in the precedent Relation: And if need were I might produce the Disturbance likely to have hapned in the *Fourth* year of this King, by the Bishop of *Winchesters* meanes, then at Variance with the Protector the Duke of *Gloucester*, when upon strict Commandment given to the Mayor, he set a sure Watch by night, that kept out the Bishops Servants by force, and would not permit them to enter the *City* over the *Bridg*, whereupon a pacification was at length concluded between these two great Men, their differencies in time amicably adjusted, and the *City* seems to have protected the Protector himself: But that I hasten to the second general Head, before propos'd, under which I am to make out the visibility of the *City's* affection to the house of *Yorke*, distinguish'd from that of *Lancaster* by the white Rose, their particular

ticular badg, and thee ffect thereof her influencing the nation in their favour, in behalf of the *Yorkists* Intereſt, to the raiſing it up above the *Lancaſtrians*. And this may be demonſtrated, beyond contradiction, both from the ſuſpicions fears, and jealouſies of the Queen and the Court, that in their Hearts the *Citizens* bore too great Reſpect to the other ſide, and would aſſiſt them upon Occaſion, and from their actual joyning at laſt openly with the *Yorkiſts* in word and deed, to the viſible exaltation of that Family above the other: whereby the White Roſe grew up amain, and flouriſhed not only above the reſt of the flowers of the field, but alſo above the Red, though it's whiteneſs was firſt ting'd with a Scarlet dye, and the Red had loſt much of it's, before lovely, ruby Colour, ſo much blood was there ſhed in this unhappy Conteſt. It being related out of *Philip de-Comines*, that, within his Remembrance, in the *Civil-Wars* of *England* dyed above *Eighty* Perſons of the Blood Royal.

For the proof of the Queens Suſpicions, or others Apprehenſions, Inſtances more than one or two, and a triumvirate of Witneſſes may be brought. *Stow* tells us before the battail of St. *Albans*, how that the King having aſſembled his Power to oppoſe the Duke of *York*, then marching towards *London* at the Head of an Army, his meaning was rather to meet the Duke in the *North* parts, than about *London*, where it was thought he had too many friends, and therefore departs with ſpeed from *Weſtminſter* on the ſame Intent: And afterwards acquaints us, that upon the diſcharging of *York* and *Salisbury* of their high Offices and Places of Goverument about the King, This change among the Nobility caus'd ſudden alterations and attempts (which he calls Seditious) to ſpring in the Commonalty, eſpecially in the *City* of *London*. *Fabian* informes us that the Queen caus'd the King to remove

remove in his *Thirty-fifth* from *London* to *Coventry*, and their held him a long ſeaſon, as ſuſpecting the *City* of *London*, and deeming it to be more favourable to the Duke of *York*'s Party, than to Hers. *Baker* gives us much the ſame Story, under the Notion of the Queens perſwading the King, for his Health and Recreation, to make a Progreſs into *Warwick ſhire*, as finding the little Reſpect the *Londoners* bore to Her Party, or the Kings. And *Stow* ſhall here bring up the Rear, to back their Informanions, with this expreſſion, that, becauſe the Duke was had more in eſtimation among the *Citizens*, than either the King or Queen, ſhe caus'd the King to make his Progreſs, as perceiving ſhe could attempt nothing againſt him near to the *City* of *London*.

If we conſider Actions, and reſpect Matters of Fact, we ſhall find the *Yorkiſts* often received at *London*, when the *Lancaſtrians* were either expreſly refus'd, or at leaſt compell'd to get further off into other parts, for their better ſecurity and ſafeguard. After the *Yorkiſts* had won the Battel at St. *Albans*; *London* was the place whereto they preſently remov'd, carrying the *King* along with them, and kept there their *Whitſuntide* with great Joy and Solemnity. When an Aſſault was made at Court upon the Potent Earl of *Warwick*, a great *Yorkiſt*, as he was coming from the Councel Table, by the *Kings* Servants with Intentions to have Slain him, *London* was the place, whereto he Row'd in all haſt, as ſoon as got into his Barge; and thereby eſcaping the danger intended, he Conſults with the Principals of his Party, and retires afterwards to *Callice*. This was the place, to which the Chronicle ſaith the Earl of *Salisbury*, his Father, was coming up with ſome Thouſands of Men, when he was neceſſitated to Fight his Way through his Enemies in *Blorehеath* Field.

Now

Here likewiſe was *Warwick* received, encouraged, and refreſhed, in the 38*th.* of *Hen.* 6. before the Battel of *Northampton*, when the Lord *Scales*, appointed by the other ſide with ſome Troops to go and ſecure the City, was directly refuſed admiſſion by the Mayor, and being received into the Tower, he was beſieged by Land and Water, and they of the City planted great Guns againſt it, and break the Walls in divers places: And, after the fatal over-throw of the *Lancaſtrians* at the aforeſaid Battels, hitherto was the King conveyed by the Party, (a Priſoner in effect, tho' in ſhew a King) as if eager there to ſhew their Triumphant Succeſs, or elſe further to ſecure to themſelves the *Londoners* good will, love and affections, by their Preſence. For *Fabian* tells us, they return'd hither in haſte, upon their obtaining this Victory, the Duke of *York* comes out of *Ireland* to them, and after a Report banded about the City, that King *Henry* was to be Depoſed, and the Duke to be made King, (to make Tryal doubtleſs of the peoples mind, and ſound the Citizens temper and inclination) he lays Claim to the Crown in open Parliament, and had it at laſt Entail'd upon himſelf and his Heirs, King *Henry* to retain the Name and Honour of King during Life, if he did not voluntarily Reſign, and the Duke of *York* to be Declared Heir Apparent to the Crown, and Protector of the King's Perſon, Lands and Dominions, with ſome other Conditions, Exceptions, and Reſervations.

This we may ſuppoſe was as much as they then found the Citizens willing to agree and conſent to for the preſent. For we have it from *Stow* on the one hand, that the Duke of *York* when he Challeng'd the Kingdom as right Heir, (which *Cotton*'s Abridgement fixes upon the 16*th.* of *October*) purpoſed to have been Crowned on *Allhollan-day* next following: and, on the other ſide, that the King was very much favoured, and highly honoured by the common People,

for his Holineſs of life, and abundant Clemency. Whether the Citizens would have yielded to more or not, I cannot be poſitive, but this I am ſure of, that they ſo far gave way, that now the *York* Party had got much the better end of the Staff by an Act of Parliament, as well as by Arms, Title, and the Cities Affections, and made uſe of it accordingly to the Old Kings actual Depoſition, and the ſetting up of a New one at *London*, before the next Spring was over, by the concurrent conſent of many ſubſtantial Citizens thereof.

This the *Yorkiſt* Faction had reaſon enough, notwithſtanding their proſperous ſucceſs in the Country, to acknowledge as a great favour of the Commonalty of *London*, and impute the following ſucceſs to their Conſtancy, in adhereing to their Party, after a double overthrow given the *Yorkiſts* by the *Lancaſtrians*, when the Magiſtracy ſeemed, in part, at leaſt, to have altered Opinions and Reſolutions, if not their Affections. For, would but the Commons have ſate ſtill, and continued Neutral in the Conteſt, the other ſide was in a fair way to have made their Party good againſt the *Yorkiſts*: but the Commons oppoſition to their Mayors Proceedings, ſtem'd the Current, to the others benefis, and the manifeſt diſadvantage of the Queen and the Court. Whereby we may obſerve where lies the ſtrength of the City, and who are likelieſt in the end, to carry the day, the Mayor, or the Commons; when they vary in their Sentiments, and as different Parties pull two contrary ways.

The whole Story, the Occaſion and the Conſequences are to be ſeen in our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians; who, among the diverſity of their Relations in many things, and wonted variety in expreſſing the Tranſactions of the Times, concur nevertheleſs in the Iſſue and Event of the Actions then in hand:

hand: For let any of them write never ſo partially out of Favour and Affection, the Truth will out at laſt, and ſhall prevail againſt all oppoſition.

The Queen with her Northern Army had overthrown and ſlain *Richard* Duke of *York*, and routed his Party at *Wakefield*, and afterwards diſcomfitted the Earl of *Warwick* and his Power at Saint *Albons*, upon *Bernard* Heath, and ſo delivered King *Henry* out of their hands, who pretended to be his Life Guard, but were in reality his Keepers, Obſerves, Overſeers, and Governours, or, in an yet harſher term though as true a ſence, his Jaylors, upon which important Succeſſes, the Queen ſent to the Mayor of *London*, willing and commanding him in the King's Name ſpeedily to ſend her Victuals without delay, for her Army: which Command the Mayor ſtrove preſently with great diligence to put in Execution, by preparing ſeveral Cart-Loads of *Lenten* Proviſion, and ſending them to *Cripple-Gate*, towards the *Lancaſtrians* Camp at Saint *Albans*. But there the Commons unanimouſly withſtood their further paſſage, and by ſtrong hand kept the Carts from going out of *London*, ſaying, It did not behoove them to feed their Enemies, who intended to Rob the City, and having repulſed the *Northern* Horſemen robbing in the Subberbs, upon their attempt to enter that way into the City, and ſlain three of them, continued ſo firm and fixt in their Reſolutions, that let the Mayor do what he could by Exhortation and Arguments, to ſhew them the danger, that might enſue by ſtopping the Carts, he could neither reclaim nor alter their minds, nor by any means prevail upon them, but in the end was fain to ſend the Recorder and ſome of the Aldermen to the Kings

Council, to requeſt the Northern Mens Diſmiſſion, beſides two Female Mediators to interceed for him to the Queen, and excuſe his not uſing force in thoſe dangerous and doubtful times, againſt the Commons oppoſition, leaſt their fury being once ſtir'd it might not ſo eaſily have been allaid again. Whereupon the Queen was ſending ſome of the Lords, with 400 Soldiers to the City, to take a view of the peoples demeanour, but having her hands full, upon certain notice that the Earl of *March*, *Yorks* Eldeſt Son, and the Earl of *Warwick* with joint Forces were coming up in all haſte to *London*, ſhe departed with the King, her Husband, and Son, into the North, her only refuge, having little truſt in *Eſſex*, leſs in them of *Kent*, but leaſt of all (ſaith *Stow*) in the *Londoners*; ſo little avail'd it to have the Mayor and ſome of the chief Commoners on her ſide, (as *Fabian* intimates) when the Commonalty, *i. e.* the vaſt majority, held with the Duke of *York* and his party, wherefore, upon the Courts departure from St. *Albans*, the Earl of *March* with his *Yorkiſts* entered the City in *Lent*, with a great Attendance, and was joyfully received, the people reſorting to him in great numbers out of *Kent*, *Eſſex*, and other parts, to ſee, aid, and aſſiſt this luſty Prince, (as the Annaliſt words it) in whom the hope of all their joy conſiſted, as ſoon as his coming thither was known, where he was quickly Proclaimed and acknowledged King by conſent, in the beginning of *March*, and after eight or ten Battels, actually Crowned in *June* with great Royalty, and a ſplendid appearance of Lords and Commons, Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens. In ſo high a degree did the Cities actions ſway the Country, and ſuch an advantage was it to the *Yorkiſts*, to have gained her over to their Party.

I need not here remark the' prevalency of the Commonalty over the Temporiſing Mayor, and his time-

time-serving Interest, (the event plainly shewing in these particulars, *Vox Populi* to have been *Vox Cæli*) because I have touched upon this string already. But this however I am warranted from History to observe, that the *Londoners*, after they had once throughly placed their hearts upon the House of *York*, they continued so fixt and firm to their Interest, that no shocks of Fortune, nor the Troubles and Commotions about the middle of King *Edwards* Reign, could shake the firmness of their adherence to him, so fast was he Rivetted in their Affections: nor yet the Popularity of the great Earl of *Warwick* himself, so much greater than a King, as that which makes is greater than that it makes: whose Hospitality may be supposed to have redounded so much to his own advantage, and the Interest of the *York* Family, which he had for a long time before espoused, by the favour he gained thereby among the Commons of the Realm in general, and of the City in particular: For when he came to *London*, the Analist informs us he kept such an House, that six Oxen were eaten at a Breakfast, and every Tavern was full of his Meat, and whoso had any acquaintance in his House might have had as much Sodden and Rost, as he might carry upon a long Dagger. All this notwithstanding, when upon disgust and discontent he had turned to the other side, and became a favourer of the *Lancastrians*, he was never the less disappointed in his aims and expectations from the *Londoners*. For though by his turning sides the *York* Party had been once routed, King *Edward* taken Prisoner, and King *Henry* resettled once more on the Throne, and he had in a manner the whole power of the Land in his hands, besides the general Love and Affection the Commons bore to him, and the dread and terror the sound of his Name oft struck into his Enemies Hearts, it having in effect altered the Fortune and turned the Scales in two Battels, one in King *Henry*'s days for the *Yorkists*, another

ther in King *Edwards* for the *Lancastrians*, yet upon the return of King *Edward* from beyond Sea (whither he had some time before escaped out of Custody) into *England*, to recover his Inheritance, and regain his Crown, and the News of his Marching up to *London*, both sides (saith *Baker*) seeking to make the City their Friends, the Citizens backwardness to take up Arms in Defence of Old King *Henry*, his Crown and Dignity, and inclination to Young King *Edward*, was so apparent, that *Warwicks*, own Brother, the Arch-bishop of *York*, distrusting the Event, secretly sought King *Edwards* Favour; he himself was received into *London*, King *Henry* was redelivered unto him, and the Great *Warwick* slain not long after at *Barnet* in a pitch'd Battell, to the utter Ruin of the *Lancastrian* Party for that Age, the consequence of this overthrow being enough to read them their succeeding ill Fate at *Tewksbury*: they themselves having sufficient Cause to be daunted, with the loss of their most powerful friends and favourers, and the *Yorkists* to be flush'd with their Success in gaining so important a Victory.

As the Citizens continued thus favourable to the King, so I don't find them them chang'd and alter'd in ther Inclinations to the other side, till some of the *Yorkists* themselves, by their own hands, began to loose and untye those Bonds of Amity, Friendship, and Fidelity, the Late King's Children being dispossest by his own Brother, the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Earl of *Richmond*, the surviving hopes of the *Lancastrians*, had openly declar'd his Intentions, and solemnly Sworn, to marry King *Edward's* Eldest Daughter, the rightful Heir of all the *Yorkists* Greatness, which afterwards was as honourably as honestly perform'd: whereby both Families became united in one Line, and the two Roses happily inoculated each upon the other. The expression

I hope the ingenious Society of Gardiners and Floriſts will pardon me, if harmleſly guilty of an abſurdity in tranſlating the term from fruits to flowers.

Did the Citizens of *London* appear ſo zealouſly on the *Yorkiſts* behalf, and yield ſuch powerful aſſiſtance to carry on their deſigns? What other than can we expect with reaſon, but that King *Edward* behaved himſelf very gratefully towards that City, which Eſpouſed his ſlaughtered Fathers Cauſe, againſt even the Governing Party, and contributed ſo conſiderably to his own Reſtauration. Though it is but too commonly ſeen that as mean ſervices are but meanly recompenced, or elſe wholly ſlighted add forgotten, ſo an exceſs of merit too great to be rewarded, brings oftner danger than advantage to the party concerned. Evident examples whereof our own and Foreign Hiſtories can abundantly afford us, and it is well if the City of *London* could produce no experience of her own in confirmation of their verity and validity, while ſome others having gotten well by their ſervices, to the facilitating their aſcent into high Places, have no better improved them in the Eyes of the World, than in keeping their Coaches, their Horſes, and their Miſſes, and made little other returns of thanks and gratitude to the City, but ſome ſmall ſlight acknowledgments and conceſſions, and perhaps a few verbal promiſes and aſſurance, or elſe forgetting their former needs and neceſſities, have endeavoured, moſt ungratefully, to turn their power upon her, which they may be thought to have gained chiefly and principally by her means. But King *Edward* it ſeems, or thoſe about him had honeſter Principles in them, or were better tempered: For we find in *Baker*, that he furniſhed his Councel Table for the moſt part with ſuch as were gracious among the Citizens; and we Read in *Stow* of no leſs than

eleven Aldermen, besides the Lord Mayor and Recorder, Knighted by him at one time in the Highway betwixt *Islington* and *Shoreditch*, upon his return from the Battel at *Tewksbury*, in reward of the good service the *Londoners* had done him. As for the jovial Entertainment of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in *Waltham* Forrest, by the Kings expres order and appointment, in his presence, about an year before he dyed, 'tis a Subject Treated on by more *English* Historians than one, with the circumstances and consequents thereof, the pleasant lodge of Green boughs set up on purpose for them, the Complemental condescention of the King, in refusing to go to his own Dinner till he had saw them served, the Hunting sport he shewed them, the plenty of Venison he gave them at their departure, and the noble Present of two Harts and six Bucks, with a Tun of Wine, he sent to the Lady Mayoress, and her Sisters the Aldermens Wives, to make merry with, which they did afterwards at Drapers Hall: where without all peradventure, the Kings Health went all round the Table, if it was then in Fashon, but for this I will not put one finger in the fire.

If we dive into the reasons of the variation of the Pole at *London*, and search into the occasional Causes of the manifest change and alteration of their Affections, from thr Family of *Lancaster* to the House of *York*, we may impute it partly to the losses, crosses, and unsuccessful management of Affairs, under a weak King and a self seeking Court of *Lancastrians*, but chiefly to the encrease of National grievances, without timely care taken to redress them, and the fixt Resolution of the Court Party to oppress their oppositres, the *Yorkists*, any manner of ways, by right or by wrong; for we may easily observe from History and experience, such to have been the usual motives to disgusts, and the common incitements to discontent. Therefore I presume I may draw hence better grounds and reasons of the

Cities

Cities Love to King *Edward*, than those alledged by *Baker* out of *Comines*, (*viz.* that he got the Love of the *Londoners* by owing them Money, and the good will of the Citizens, by lying with their wives) as looking at first appearance too Comical and Jocular to be found, when sifted to the bottom. Why else did this Experiment never succeed before nor since? I don't think but there have been other Princes, besides this Amorous *Yorkist*, sitting upon the *English* Throne, whose Consciences would never have boggled at borrowing Money, and then Cornuting their Creditors, if this *Recipe* could have shewn its *Probatum est*. But whatever Reasons History or Phancy suggests, this is most undeniably certain, as being matter of fact, that the City was visibly ingag'd in the *Yorkists* Interest, before ever that Family could attain to the height of their desires. From whence I doubt not to conclude, that had the Citizens been otherwise inclin'd, and continued firm and fixt to the House of *Lancaster*, the Duke of *York* might indeed have laid his Claim, and pleaded Title, with many other fair-spun pretences, (as the Prerogative of Birth, Priviledge of Law, the impossibility of altering a Native Right by previous Contracts, Vows, Oaths, or Prescription, and the Injustice of breaking the Thread of an Orderly Succession) but, all this notwithstanding, he might still have remained for ought we can be sure of, far enough off from compassing his Ambitious Desires, or from the possibility of coming within view of his Journeys End, the City standing between him and the wished for Haven. The Observation is obvious from several passages aforegoing. The City in it self is too great to be over-aw'd, and her influence over the Country consequently too powerful, to have it long quietly over-rul'd by any Party whatsoever, with whom she refuses to concur.

Another Observation give me leave to make *en passant*

passant, and that shall be upon the time and season, not of the Citizens manifesting their Affections, but of their actual appearance in behalf of the Duke and his Party. This I observe to have been, not presently and immediately in the fore-front, and the very first beginning, but upon the coming up of the *Yorkists* to *London* with Swords by their sides, and resolution in their minds: So that they seem first to have been approvers, and then Seconds to the Dukes Party in their designs upon their open Declaration. Before that the Commonalty so openly and resolutely refused to let Provisions pass to the *Lancastrians* Camp at *St. Albans*, the Duke of *York* had declared himself in the midst of his Friends and Adherents at *London* ready to assist him, and though he was then dead, having been slain in Battle, and the *Lancastrians* so near the City at that very same time, yet his Eldest Son being in the Head of an Army in the Country, was soon come to *London*, received, Elected, approved, and set up for King by their approbation, consent, aud good liking. This likewise may be observed to have been the common custom and usage of the City, as an ordinary *English* Reader may easily find in several places of this Relation upon a review, or careful recollection of what hath been before set down: or else to satisfie his Curiosity, without trusting to this Transcription, he may search after the passages himself in such Authentick Authors, as *Fabian*, *Stow*, *Speed*, *Baker*, or the like Chronicles of the *English* Affairs, which being easier met with than the Original Writers of these times, he will be put to the less trouble, upon any doubt occurring in any things here delivered for matter of Fact, in that I have chose to draw up this Treatise for the most part out of these laborious Collectors. Where it is observable that the Cities inclinations being by some one or other overt act, as manifestly declared, or else plainly perceived, or shrewdly guessed at, by the industry and vigi-

lence

lence of the discerning Spirits of the Age, the discontented Nobles were quickly encouraged thereupon, and inclined to withdraw into the *Marches* of *Wales*, or the Borders of *Scotland*, and there gathering together their Party, and Raising as great Forces as time and opportunity would permit, away they come in all haste, as fast as they can, up to *London*, where being joyfully and gladly received, with great applause and approbation, the Courtiers were often compelled to fly for their safety, and the Governing Party desperse elsewhere, to try it out by dint of Sword, (at which they were commonly worsted) or else quietly yield to such conditions, as would be approved in the City, and were acceptable to the Party, the result whereof generally was the calling of a Parliament, as the desire of the Subject, though the dread and fear of the Court. But for the better illustration of this remark, I shall produce modern experience, and instance in what hath hapned within the memory of thousands yet living.

That under the late Usurpation the City was very desirous of a Free-Parliament is not to be doubted of. And yet we find she sate still quiet, and pretty well contented to outward appearance, (amidst the various changes from an Old Protector, to a New one, from that to the Rump, and thence to the Committee of Safety) as if over ridden, or like a wearied Beast, silently couching down under her heavy burthens, almost wholly insensible, and as one unconcerned. But as soon as General *Monk*, out of *Scotland*, had openly declared his dislike of the Armies extravagancies, and was come up from *Coldstream*, amidst the Visits of the Gentry, and Acclamations of the people, so near the City as *Harbrow*, we hear presently of Commissioners come thither to him from the City, and their proposing a re-admission of the Secluded Members, that the Parliament might be made full and free. This

was

was the first Publick Addres I meet with looking that way, but after this we read of many from various parts of the Land, and almost all Counties of the same Nature with that from the Capital City of the Nation, as if all had been animated by the influential Rays of her Inclinations, and her Results were the superior faculties of the Soul, ove-ruling the inferior Members of the Body. But the City staid not here, for as she addressed, so she was resolved for a full house, before she would pay any publick Taxes. And tho' *Monk* upon stricter declar'd Resolutions put her into a great Consternation for a time, by pretending to over-aw her with his Soldiers, which was not in any wise expected at his hands, yet upon his application to her *Common-Council*, when he return'd the next day with his Army to regain their almost lost favour, (and what then might not they have done of themselves, when their amazement, sprung from the suddenness of the unexpected surprise, was abated?) they approv'd of his Intentions to have the House of Commons fill'd up, demonstrated it with Bells and Bonfires, perswaded and procured his continuance amongst them; whereby his own Security was consulted, and those Designs most successfully carried on, which laid the way open to his present Majesties Peaceable Restauration. For this Concurrence of the City with General *Monk*'s Resolutions, brought about the Restitution of the *Secluded Members*, that procured a free and fuller meeting of the Lords and Commons, and soon after the King was recall'd from his forced Exile, to the open Exercise of his Royal Power and Authority over these his Three Nations, and made his Publick Entrance in the greatest Calm of Peace and Tranquility imaginable. Thanks to the Honourable City for concurring so unanimously to the Revival of the remaining part of the Old Parliament, which

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brought forth ſo Miraculous Effects, as to have an Injur'd and Exil'd Prince fully reſtor'd to his Throne, and yet the Glory of the Action not tinctur'd with Blood. Such was the Influence of *Londons* concurrence, of *Londons* Power, of *Londons* Prayers.

If then the many inſtances hitherto related, being conjoyn'd, riſe not up to a demonſtration, as much Mathematical, as the ſubject can bear, I know not what will. As for the truth of them, I defie any one to diſprove me, who hath but the leaſt grain of ſence and reaſon in him, and as much Hiſtorical knowledge as may amount to the ſixtieth part of a ſcruple. The particular reaſons of the Cities Potency have been ſhewn, and the general ground thereof is as plainly evident. For how can it otherwiſe be, but that a City endowed with ſuch Royal Grants, fortified with ſo many and ſo great Priviledges, and exalted to the heighth of Grandeur, by the vaſtneſs of her Trade; multitude of her Merchants, Wealth and Riches of her Inhabitants, Spirit and Courage of her Citizens, Statelineſs of her Buildings, Preheminances of her Antiquity, Conveniency of her Scituation, and Regular Order of her Government, ſo Ennobled with the higheſt Courts of Judicature for the Law, adorned with numerous Churches for the Goſpel, and frequented by Strangers from all parts of the habitable World, the Receptacle of all Arts and Sciences, the Haunt of the Commonalty, the Delight of the Gentry, the Habitation of the Nobility, the Reſidence of the King, and Glory of the whole Nation; ſo pleaſant to Admiration; and ſo populous to a Wonder, where many Scores, if not Hundreds of Thouſands, can be Raiſed and Armed in a few Hours Warning. How, I ſay, can it otherwiſe be, but that ſuch a City muſt needs highly influence, over-rule and over-awe the Counſels of the Nation,

tion, and turn the Inclinations of the People whithersoever she please? For Nature generally uses the common ordinary means and methods, and I do not see that the All-powerful God of Nature often diverts her Course, or works Wonders and Miracles in every Age and Season. Now that *London* is such a City, I appeal to History and Experience for my Witnesses.

These are the Observations I had to make concerning the Glories of the City of *London* and the Influences she had upon the grand Concerns of the Nation, in that great and famous Contest between the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, (through the most considerable part whereof I have hitherto traced her Actions) wherein finding her most triumphant, amidst the great variety of the publick Transactions of these times, I think it not much material to give so distinct a Relation of her private Affairs, though among them I might likewise find many things most worthy of Remak, as hastening apace towards the Conclusion of this Treatise, that it may not swell into too great a bulk, to the Reader's Discouragement, and the wearying out of his Patience, I fear, already almost tired. Wherefore, as to what concerns the private Troubles of the City, the Tumults, Riots and Insurrections sprung up out of her own Bowels in these perilous Times, and happily suppress by the Power of her Majestrates, and the accidental Casualties happening within her Liberties: or else the many Benefits accruing to her, by the Care and Vigilance of her chief Officers, the good Rule and Order of her Government, the strict Observation of her particular Ordinances, and putting in Execution her Injunctions: Or as to what relates to the external Augmentation of her Honour, her Splendor and Renown, by the Reparation of her Walls, Renovation of her publick Structures, founding and erecting of new Fabricks, I pass them all over, without

Without a more particular mention, (ſending the curious and inquiſitive to the Chronicles, *Baker's* eſpecially, who hath treated purpoſely of ſuch remarkables in diſtinct Sections, at the end of the Kings Lives) as not ſo pertinent to my preſent deſign, tho' in other Kings Reigns I may have here and there touch'd upon ſome ſuch Remarks: And ſhall direct the Reader with an Inſtance of the Courage of ſome bold ſpirited women of the City, having hitherto entertain'd him with the Heroick and Illuſtrious Acts only of the other Sex. The Relation I have out of *Stow*, who places it in the Seventh of King *Henry* the Sixth, *Anno* 1428. where, after mention made of a Parliament Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* that Year, he gives it us in theſe words.

'In this Parliament there was one Mrs. *Stokes*, with 'divers other ſtout Women of *London*, of good reckoning, well Apparell'd, came openly to the upper-'houſe of Parliament, and deliver'd Letters to the 'Duke of *Glouceſter*, and to the Arch-Biſhops, and to 'the other Lords there preſent, containing matter of 'Rebuke, and ſharp reprehenſion of the Duke of '*Glouceſter*, becauſe he would not deliver his Wife '*Jaqueline* out of her grievous Impriſonment; being 'then held Priſoner by the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſuf-'fering her there to remain ſo unkindly, and for his 'publick keeping by him another Adultreſs, contrary 'to the Law of God, and the honourable Eſtate of 'Matrimony. Bold words and bold women. For this Duke was then Lord Protector of the Realm, and ſo conſequently of great Power, Place, and Dignity therein. But theſe were *Londoners* that durſt be ſo couragious, as to ſay, to Princes, *Ye are Wicked*, and then the wonder is not altogether ſo great, on one hand, that they dar'd to reprehend the great ones of the Age, and on the other, that we ſtill find ſuch Heroical Spirits in the City, ſince they ſpring from ſuch a Race both by the Fathers ſide, and the Mothers.

Mothers. The *Roman* Hiſtorians celebrates the Memory of that Noble Matron, who came into open Court, and with ſo undaunted a ſpirit of boldneſs, pleaded her own Cauſe, to the great amazement of the Senate for the preſent, that they made an Order to forbid the like for the future. What Viragoes then were theſe *Engliſh* Matrons of *London*, that in open Parliament durſt reprove the Nobles to their faces, and were not afraid to attempt to teach our Senators wiſdome? wherein they may ſeem to have out-did that fam'd *Roman* Matron, in that what ſhe did may be thought to have proceeded from ſelf-love and ſelf-defence, whereas theſe with a greater Courage eſpous'd another Cauſe, an exceſs of Charity and Humanity, and, inſtead of ſtaying for an opportunity of defending their own Intereſt upon occaſion or neceſſity, durſt voluntarily make an onſet on the more powerful with ſharp rebukes, for neglecting the diſtreſſed, and refuſing to aſſiſt the poor, weak, and diſconſolate. So that the Royal City of *London* appears emulous of the Old Imperial City of *Rome*, both in the Courage of the Women, and valour of her men: as if reſolved not to yield to her Fame on any account in Glory and Merit, nor come behind her in the Heroick Acts of either of the Sexes, while one continues as potent in the *Britiſh* World, by the Spirit of the Citizens and influence of her Actions, as the other once was famous for her Arms all over *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Africa*. And who knows whitherto ſhe may come in time, as how far the Fates, or rather Providence, have decreed to advance her? Was ſhe ſo powerful ſo many Ages ſince, what is ſhe now, ſince that ſhe's very much encreaſed in the Strength and Number of her Inhabitants, and her private Buildings are reform'd from Wood and Earth into Brick, and publick into Stone, low humble Cottages into ſtately Edifices, and who dares be ſo poſitive to aver, that they may not in time be chang'd into Marble? Hitherto

Hitherto have I treated the *Reader* with variety of Proofs and Evidences ſufficiently (I hope) demonſtrative of the Repute, Fame, Honour, Glory, and Renown, Magnificence, Grandeur, Strength, Power and Influence of this ſo *Triumphant a City*, whoſe Approbation and Aſſiſtance, hath ſetled Kings upon their Thrones, and the diſſatisfaction of whoſe Inhabitants hath ſometimes left the way open to the ruine of Princes; In the Examples and Inſtances whereof, the Concurrence of her Citizens was, for the moſt part, general and univerſal, at leaſt ſo far as concern'd the *Majority*. But now I ſhall produce an Inſtance (and not eaſie perhaps to be parallell'd, from either Divine or prophane Writings,) to ſhew, how influential the bare ſhadow of her Name hath been in State-Affairs, and how contributary to the transforming of a Subject into a King, without any apparent aſſent of the Main Body of this ancient Corporation; which I am ſo far from thinking a diminution of her Glory, that I rather look upon it, as here circumſtantiated, to be an Argument of the City's great Power, Reputation, and Eſteem, under this Conſideration;

That if that aſpiring Protector, the bloody Duke of *Glouceſter*, better known by the Name of *Crook-back'd Richard the Third*, could do ſo much by the ſhadow, what might he not have done, could he have but enjoyed the ſubſtance? As in Divinity, Circumſtances make many an Action good or bad: ſo in Hiſtory, the Deſign and Event not ſeldom ennobles or debaſes an Enterprize. 'Tis not ſo much the bare Act, or thing done, in this particular, that is to make good my Aſſertion, as the Deduction from the Conſequences thereof, whether real or deſigned, which come now to be related in this manner following:

When that ambitious, Crook-back'd *Duke*, upon his Brother's Death, had got his eldeſt Son and Heir, and the rightful King, into his hands, and by treacherous Plots, deviſ'd Crimes, and falſe Calumniations, taken away the Lives of thoſe true and truſty Friends of the old King, that were moſt likely to continue faithful to his young Son and Heir in his Minority, and loyally ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, againſt the open Attempts or ſecret Deſigns of his Treacherous Uncle, and thereby remov'd many of the Rubs out of the way to his aſpir'd greatneſs. His next Care was to get the Peoples Conſent to the turning of his Ducal Corronet into a Regal Crown, and their Concurrence to acknowledge him for their King, whereas before he was but Protector. But how ſhould this be done? A Pretence muſt be found to cajole them, ſeeing that he had ſo little Equity and Juſtice on his ſide to confirm them to him. The City of *London* was known to be powerful and populous, and their Example was thought to do much with the reſt of the Nation, to make them, if not approve, at leaſt connive at his Nephew's Depoſition, and his own Exaltation, therefore the Citizens were to be Careſs'd, and their Approbation to be ſought. Whereupon he ſeeks for and procures Inſtruments fit for his turn, that, to honour his ambitious Deſires, ſtuck not openly to turn *Renegado's* to Truth, Honeſty and Loyalty, ſo that they might get Worldly Honour and Preferment thereby. Among whom none of the leſs noted, nor leaſt uſeful, are reckon'd the preſent Lord Mayor of *London*, (a Man of a proud Heart, and highly deſirous of Advancement, how little ſoever he deſerv'd it) and two *brazen-fac'd* Sons of the Church, both great Preachers, of more Learning then Virtue, of more

Fame

Fame than Learning. So useful hath the Pulpit in the Church been always thought to carry on Intreagues in the State. The Contrivance was first to prepare the People and break the Matter at *Paul's*-Cross, and then Motion it to the Citizens at *Guild-hall*, to accomplish which, and bring his purpose to perfection, the Duke cared not, so his dead Father were thought, or call'd, a Cuckold; his Mother, a Whore; his Brethren, Bastards; and his Nephew, illegitimate; to the shame of the whole House of *York*, such Fires of Ambition rul'd and rag'd in his Heart. The flattering Clergy-men readily did their Parts in the Pulpit, as far as they were able, but with so ill success to the Duke's Cause, and their own Reputation, that he was wholly disappointed of the desir'd Acclamations, and they lost their Credit and Estimation among the People ever after. One lost his *Life* after his Sermon, the other his *Voice* in the midst of his Preaching, and so was forc'd to leave off and come down.

From *Paul's* Cross away go we, the *Tuesday* following the Doctor's Sermon, to *Guild-hall*, and there we find the Mayor upon the *Hustings*, and all the Aldermen assembled about him, and the Commons of the City gather'd before them. To whom the Duke of *Buckingham*, newly come thither, attended with divers Lords and Knights from the Court, makes a long and large Oration about the Grievances under the late King, his many unnecessary Taxations, great Severities, and the looseness of his Life, (to cast dirt thus upon the late King's Government, was thought then, it seems, an effectual Means, to make way for this *Popish Successor*) minds them of the Doctor's Sermon, and desires them to joyn with him, and others, in a Petition to the Duke, to take upon him the Name and Office

of a King, hoping by his many Arguments and Perſwaſions, with the volubility of his Tongue, to obtain the Citizens Concurrence in a full Cry of of King *Richard*, King *Richard*. But they were, it ſeems by the ſtory, very deaf of hearing on that Ear, to his no little wonder and amazement. Wherefore, upon further conſultation with the Mayor and others privy to the Deſign, *Buckingham* reſumes his Diſcourſe, and rehearſes the ſame over again with a louder Voice, as if the Citizens had not all heard, or not well underſtood the meaning of his former Speech. But neither did this move their Affections, nor produce a Word in favour of the Motion from the Auditors. Then Mr. Recorder, by the Mayor's Advice, was pitch'd upon to ſecond the Duke, upon hopes that it might be better accepted from him, as the publick Mouth of the City. Full loth, we may well think, was he, an honeſt Man, and newly come to his Honour and Preferment, having never ſpoken to the Citizens before from that place, to begin upon ſo harſh and unpleaſing a Subject. But however the Mayor's Commands muſt be obey'd. He therefore makes a Rehearſal of the Duke's Words, but ſo far from being tranſpos'd, alter'd, or augmented, that he plainly ſhew'd what he did was in Obedience to the Lord Mayor's Commands, not out of affection or good will to the Cauſe, or the Duke. What then could it avail the Mayor and his Party, that Mr. Recorder was compell'd to be their Mouth, when 'tis plain from his Speech, that he ſpoke others Sentiments, not his own? And this was eaſily perceiv'd on all hands. For the Citizens ſtood ſtill as mute as Fiſhes, or deaf as Adders, that would not hearken to the Voice of the Charmer, nor tune their Pipes to the Song of a baſe flattering Courtier. Well then, conſent

they

they could get none? Hitherto not a word of approbation, what must be done next? Why? when we despair of Citizens Words and Wishes, we'll e'en pretend to reject them, as useless and unnecessary, seeing they will not be model'd to our minds. And therefore at last the Citizens are plainly told, that all the Nobles of the Realm are resolv'd already upon the Point, (a thing as true, as the Mayor was Honest, or the Duke Loyal) and their ultimate Answer was demanded. Upon which follow'd secret Whisperings, and a confused Bur, among the People, till at last some of the Duke's Servants, and others of their procuring, (Prentices, and other Lads, thrust into the Hall among the Press) set up their Notes at the lower end, threw up their Caps in token of Joy, and loudly cry out upon King *Richard*. This the Duke and Mayor, seeing they could have not better, take advantage of, and would have it forsooth pass for an unanimous Consent, and the universal Approbation of the City, though the whole multitude of Citizens answer'd them not a word, only cast back their heads, and marvelled what those meant behind them, with their whoopings and hollowings. A goodly Cry, quoth the Duke, and thanks them, and so departs.

The next News we hear is of a Petition immediately made, the Morrow after, to the Protector at *Baynard*'s Castle, to take upon him the Rule and Government of the Realm, as rightful King, to which, with much ado and intreaty, (poor Man!) he at last yielded, as if altogether compell'd, through meer necessity, and others importunity, the Duke of *Buckingham* coming in the Name of himself, the Lord Mayor and his Brethren, as indeed we find them there amongst others, to see this notorious piece of dissimulation acted over. So slips this dissembling *Yorkist*

into the Throne, over his young Nephew's head (whom afterwards he cruelly caus'd to be murder'd) is Crowned, and Reigns as King for a time, the Holla's and Huzza's of a few Courtiers and Prentices being impos'd upon the Nation, for the Universal Consent of the City of *London*, though the Duke's Party could not obtain so much as that Complement from the Citizens themselves. Seeing therefore they could not embrace the Substance, they were resolv'd, I would say, to grasp at the Shadow, were I sure the Criticks would not Censure the Expression. For being not able to prevail upon the Masters, they endeavour'd to try Experiments on the Apprentices, and failing of the Majority of the Men, are content to be playing with the Boys: And if this now may be call'd the Concurrence of the City, 'tis easie doubtless to be had at any time with Feasting and Fudling. Let the distrustful, or evil thinking person, consult Mr. *Stow*, about the Life and Reign of King *Edward* the Fifth, and then he may see Authority enough for the precedent Relation.

Thus we see the Duke is mounted at last up into the Saddle, and from a Protector, that might have been legal, he becomes a King most unlawfully, by very unjust Means and indirect Methods, by defrauding his poor innocent Nephew of his Birthright, and afterwards depriving him of his Life, aspersing his own Mother with Adultery, imputing Bastardy to his Brethren, and bringing a dishonourable Reflection upon his Father. But can we think such an ill-gotten Crown could ever prosper with him? No sure: 'Twas improbable, and impossible. The Furies are stirr'd up to torment him, for Providence sleeps not, nor could Vengeance lag long behind. The City never gave her

full

full consent, notwithstanding all the endeavours of that false Knave her Mayor, therefore she had reason and occasion enough for the deepest Resentments, to see her Name without her Authority basely abus'd by Treachery and Deceit, to promote other Mens corrupt Designs, and the Duke so lately transpos'd into a King, sufficient Grounds for continual Fears, Jealousies and Suspicions, about the fickleness and unsetledness of his own State and Condition, being so insecure and uncertain of the City's hearty good will and affections, as knowing the Cheat he had newly put upon the Nation, and the Affront he had offered to the whole Body of the Citizens, in making use of their Names without their Consent and Concurrence, to settle himself in his intended Usurpation. *Bosworth*-field also is drawing nigh a pace, where he shall be forc'd to pay Nature her last Debt, Justice shall have her due, and a full period shall be put to all his villanous Acts and Enterprizes, after a short Reign or Usurpation of two Years, two Months, and a Day or two, the shortest Term by far of any Kings Reign since the first *William*, unless we admit *Edward* the Fifth, for Method and Customes sake, into the Number of our Kings, who for Ten Weeks space bore the Name, though it may be more properly call'd the Tyranny of the Duke, than the Reign of the King.

Enter next the Earl of *Richmond*, a *Lancastrian*, (a Family directly opposite to the House of *York*, till now in Combination against Crook-back *Richard*, that did endeavour to destroy them all, and on a design of a union of both Interests, in the persons of the Heirs on both sides) with a few Friends and foreign Mercinaries, at *Milford*-Haven in *Wales*, and the hopes of a considerable Number of Auxilia-

ries ready to joyn and assist him in his March up directly towards the City of *London*. For this seems to have been his main aim, and intended purpose, from his Letters sent to his Friends, to come in with all speed to his Assistance, as in whose Affections doubtless he put much trust and confidence; neither was he deceiv'd therein, in that, after his successful Victory over his Enemies at *Bosworth*, (where we date the first beginning of his Reign, under the Name of *Henry* the Seventh) upon his remove towards *London*, and his near approach to the City, we find the City so far from the least shadow of opposition, that on the contrary, they prepar'd to receive him with Demonstrations of great Joy and Gladness, for his safe and happy arrival there. The Habit of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens, were either Scarlet or Violet, and his Reception was in great State and Pomp, they meeting him in orderly Array without the City, and so conveying him through it to St. *Pauls*. Neither may we think him insensible of their Favours, if *Baker* records the truth, as indeed I am not able on any good grounds to contradict him, when he says, that the City of *London* was this King's Paradice, nor provably confute the Reasons he gives for his Assertion, *viz.* That what good Fortune soever befel him, he thought he enjoy'd it not, till he acquainted them with it. And can we fancy he had not good Grounds and Inducements, for this honourable Acknowledgment of their Kindness and Goodness shewn him by them, besides the first Expressions thereof in the beginning of his Reign, when he was so far from being well warm'd in his Seat, that he was not yet enter'd upon the Throne by the Solemnity of a Coronation, nor had taken possession of the Government with the usual Ceremonies and customary Formalities? Cer-

Certain it is, that I read in *Fabian*, Sheriff of *London* in his days, that he had conſiderable Sums of Money of the City, more than once, twice, or thrice, an Aſſiſtance as requiſite often times, as Men in Arms, and not ſeldom more difficult for Princes to obtain: There being idle men enough generally at all times ready to come in at the Sound of Trumpet or Drum, if there be but an Aſſurance or Probability of good Pay: which to compaſs, is commonly a difficulty not ſo eaſily ſurmounted, even by great Kings and Princes, ſo ſcarce a Commodity is Gold and Silver Coin. Neither do I find the City at any time complaining, or oppoſing, or joyning with his Enemies: For notwithſtanding his ſettlement on the Throne, and his uniting the two Families into one, by marrying *Edward* the Fourth's eldeſt Daughter, he had a *Lambert* and a *Perkin* to diſturb his Quiet and Repoſe, about Title. A Favour therefore doubtleſs this was not inconſiderable in thoſe days. For the City of *London* is known to have been able to do much, had ſhe been ſo inclined. Whereof we may well believe the King was very ſenſible, and ſo were the oppoſers of his peaceable tranquility, were it only from this conſideration, that when, in the Second of his Reign, it was bleer'd about by his Enemies, that the Earl of *Warwick*, *George*, Duke of *Clarences* Son, was eſcap'd out of the Tower, and a counterfeited Earl was provided to act the part of the true one, to draw People to their Aſſiſtance, (which might have created no little trouble to the King, and greatly endanger'd his Perſon and Dignity) to diſappoint and fruſtrate their Deſigns, and fully lay open the Cheat, of all Parties and Places of his Kingdom, he choſe *London*, to ſhew therein the right Earl of *Warwick* to the People, though the principal Scene of

of those Affairs were then laid in *Ireland:* And the other side appear'd so fearful of the Effect thereof upon the *Londoners*, and their Influence doubtless upon the rest of the Nation, even *Ireland* it self, though so far distant, that to buoy up the Spirits of their own Party, they thought it most effectual to report about the Island, that that was a Counterfeit purposely train'd and taught by King *Henry*, and shew'd by him in *London*, to blind the Eyes of the Simple and Ignorant. So sollicitous were both to encrease the number of their Adherents, and draw the People of the Land to a belief of the honesty and sincerity of their Intentions, and Equity of their Actions, among whom the City of *London* is certainly the greatest Body, fitly joyn'd together by good Laws and Constitutions, greatly confirm'd by an orderly succession of her Magistrates, and much strengthned by a long and large train of continual Successes. But the City continued fix to the King's Interest, and therefore the others Devices and Pretences work'd little or nothing upon the Citizens. They were rather ready to rejoyce on all occasions for his victorious Success, than prone to take part with his Enemies against him, whereof they gave him sufficient Testimonies at several times and seasons, when they had opportunity to express their Affections, in a more free and open way, at such glorious Solemnities, as Coronations, Installations, publick Receptions, and Royal and Princely Marriages.

'Tis confess'd, that, towards the latter end of this King's Reign, some of her principal Officers, her Mayors and Sheriffs, were sore troubled and vext in the King's Courts, and large Sums of Money demanded of them, for things pretended to be done by them illegally in their Offices, and such of them im-

impriſon'd, as refus'd to pay thoſe Arbitrary Fines, as may be ſeen in *Stow*'s Annals; but theſe were Troubles only of particular Men, and common alſo to many others of the King's Subjects, when *Empſon* and *Dudley* were got into Authority, and, to humour the old King's covetous itch after Riches, (a Vice incident moſtly to Old Age) reviv'd old forgotten Laws, and rais'd large Sums of Money upon Offences againſt Penal Statutes; wherein they acted ſo exorbitantly, and took ſuch arbitrary, illegal and unjuſt Ways, (many whereof *Baker* reckons up in his Chronicle) to compaſs their Ends, that they themſelves at length were become the principal Grievances of the Nation, and ſuffered accordingly in the beginning of the next King's Reign, both of them by the hands of Juſtice, being made to pay their Heads for ſatisfaction to the People, and their Promoters moſt ſhamefully Pillory'd and Impriſon'd. So little did it avail them, to pretend they put the Laws in Execution, or to call themſelves the King's Promoters or Informers. King *Henry* the Eighth, as ſoon as he came to the Crown, more regarding the Commons Crys, and the Complaints of his People, than he valued the pretended Loyalty of ſuch profligate Villains, as had no other way to pick up a Livelihood, than by raking it out of other Mens Miſeries and Troubles.

This Prince in his youth was ſo much addicted to Pleaſures, and Paſtimes, fine Sights and Shews, Masks, Juſts, and Tournaments, and in his elder years to Cruelty and Tyrannical Oppreſſion, that one might be apt to expect, and perhaps with ſome colour of reaſon, that little was to be found in *London*, in the beginning of this King's Reign, but Jollity, Joy, and Rejoycing, gaudy Shews, and

and pleasing Objects, delightful to the Eye, and grateful to Sense, a King's Example commonly drawing along with it his Subjects Imitation; and that in the latter end, scarce any durst presume, to make opposition to a Man of so domineering a Spirit, as, by his own death-bed Confession, never spar'd Woman in his Lust, nor Man in his Anger: And yet notwithstanding we meet with, under this Prince, Instances of the City's Power, Boldness, and undaunted Resolution, and of the King's Favour to the Citizens.

The last may haply be concluded, even from the Effects of evil *May*-day, when we read of the King's pardoning the many hundreds Indicted for that day's Riot and Insurrection, at the three Queens intercession, upon Cardinal *Woolsey*'s Advice, and perchance in Complaisance to the City. Not to mention that eminent Instance, of the King's Charity, Love, and Affection to the City, when, in so great a scarcity of Bread therein, that many died for meer want, he freely and frankly sent thither, out of his own Provisions, 600 Quarters of Corn, which serv'd for a very seasonable Supply, till more could be brought from other Parts. But as to the former, I dare aver it from the consequence of the Contest, between the City and the Cardinal, in the 17th year of this King, out of *Stow*, and thence prove, beyond denial, how like her self the City always continued, in opposing the Arbitrary Power and Exorbitances of over-grown Favourites.

Commissions were sent forth, by Order of the Council, into every Shire, to Levy the Sixth Part of every Man's Substance, towards the King's passage into *France*, but this was so vehemently oppos'd by the People, as contrary to ancient Laws and Customs, and not granted by the Paliament, that

that the King thought good to deny, that he ever knew of that Demand, and, by ſoothing Letters, ſent to *London* and elſewhere, he requeſted only his Subjects Benevolence. This was a Term more plauſible, than a ſet Demand, and a fix'd Contribution, and the Cardinal forſooth would needs undertake perſonally to induce the City's conſent thereto, and therefore ſent for the Mayor, the Aldermen, and the moſt ſubſtantial Common-Councel-Men, to *Weſtminſter*, thinking by fair Speeches, good Words, and large Promiſes, to have overperſwaded them. To him indeed they lent their Ears, but we don't find them over haſty to part with their Purſes. However they ſent Deputies to him, Four Aldermen and Twelve Commoners, to return him their thanks, and every Alderman aſſembles his Ward, and makes a Motion for a Benevolence, which was openly deny'd them by the Commonalty. Then the Cardinal ſends again for the Mayor, and his Brethren, who informs him what they had done. Whereupon he would have examined them apart, and demands a benevolence of them in the King's Name: But for Anſwer, was told, by a City Councellor, that the Motion was againſt an Act of Parliament, which could not be diſprov'd, though it was in part gain-ſaid. Thereupon the Mayor reſolutely denies to grant any thing; ſo that upon his coming home to *London*, all publick endeavours were laid by, and it was declar'd, that every man ſhould come to the Cardinal, and grant privily what he would. This was ſo little grateful to the Citizens, and upon the Mayor's endeavours to qualifie them, by promiſing they ſhould be gently treated, and exhorting them to go when ſent for, they were ſo highly offended thereat, that in their fury,

fury, they would have had ſeveral expell'd the Common-Councel, and ſo without further anſwer, angrily departed home. Whereby we may be well aſſur'd of the truth of *Hall*'s Obſervation, that though the Mayor and Aldermen had granted the Demand, the Common-Councel would never have aſſented; For we muſt know, this was done at the Common-Councel call'd the next day after my Lord Mayor came from Court. The Reſult therefore of all was in the Iſſue, that the King openly proteſts, in a great Council, call'd at *York-place*, now *White-hall*, that his mind was never to ask any thing of his Commons, that might ſound to the breach of the Laws, and ſo this Project was rejected, and laid aſide, by order of the Kings Letter ſent into all Counties. For ſeeing that the City refuſed, how was it poſſible to perſwade the Country, who look upon *London* as their principal Guide and Directreſs, and ſo generally ſquare their Actions by the Citizens Rule? Doth not then this ſeem a clear Example of the *Londoners* conſtant fixedneſs to their old Principles of Liberty? And if the Reader likewiſe pleaſe, it may paſs for an Inſtance of the Citizens diſclaiming their Mayor's Reſolves, and the prevalency of the Commonalty over the Magiſtracy, when reſolute in their juſt oppoſition.

As an Overplus, I ſhall caſt in a Paſſage out of *Baker*'s Chronicles, where we find it upon Record, under the Title of King *Henry*'s Taxations, how that, when in the Fourteenth Year, a Tenth Part of all Mens Subſtance was required by the Cardinal, towards the Charges of the King's Wars, and he would have had every Man

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ſworn to tell what he was worth. The *Londoners* thinking this very hard, they were thereupon excus'd for taking the Oath, and allowed to bring in their Bills upon their Honeſties: from whence may be argued, either the Strength, Greatneſs and Power of this honourable City, whom the Court, nor the Cardinal, durſt not diſpleaſe, or the great reſpect then ſhewn her, in regard of thoſe many glorious Rays of Influence ſhe ſheds all over all the Land, when the Word of a Citizen went as far, and was as well accepted, as another Man's Oath.

If ſuch then was the Honour and Reſpect of the City heretofore, what may we think it to be, now that *London* hath ſince receiv'd ſo conſiderable an Addition, and Augmentation, in ſeveral reſpects, by the happy concurrence of many more Circumſtances to render it eternally famous.

Was this City able to hold a Conteſt with ſo grand a Favourite and potent a Courtier, as Cardinal *Woolſey*, and at laſt to come off with flying Colours, to the vindicating her own Rights, and the Liberties of all the Nation beſides, and the forcing King *Henry* in the ſtrength of his Age, as ſtout as he was, to ſo great a Compliance, as hath been hinted before? 'Tis plain then, ſhe was ſtrong, and her Citizens not deſtitute of Spirit. Did the King, as cruel as he was to others of his Subjects, ſhew himſelf favourable to *London*? 'Tis evident, he had great cauſe and reaſon ſo to do, unleſs he was deſirous to be tax'd with ungratitude, ſo un-Prince-like a Crime. For we may obſerve

obſerve the Citizens were ready enough to pleaſe him in any thing, wherein their All was not concerned, and in that I never yet found them ever prone to humour the Follies of any King living. Witneſs their readineſs on all Occaſions for the Honour of the King, to appear in the moſt ſplendid Equipage on publick Solemnities.

Among which, the moſt remarkable, in my Opinion, were the Coronation of Queen *Ann*, Mother of the never to be forgotten Queen *Elizabeth*, of bleſſed Memory, with the Preparatives thereto, the Celebrity of her Attendance by Water, from *Greenwich* to the *Tower*, and her honourable Conveyance from thence through the City, amidſt the great variety of pleaſing Shews, and delightful Objects, to *Weſtminſter*, particulariz'd in *Stow*, and the glorious appearance of the Citizens, at the great Muſter in St. *James's*-Park, *May* the 8th, *Anno* 31. to the Number of Fifteen Thouſand, in bright ſhining Armour, with Coats of white Silk or Cloth, and Chains of Gold, where the Citizens ſtrove in ſuch ſort to exceed each other in bravery of Arms, and forwardneſs of Service, as if the City had been a Camp, and they not Men of the Gown, but all profeſs'd Soldiers, which they perform'd to their great Coſt, but greater Commendation, ſaith Sir *Richard Baker*. But the greateſt Inducement may be ſuppoſed to have been, that they never appear'd prone to join with the King's Enemies, of which he had good ſtore abroad, beſides Domeſtick Troubles and private Inſurrections at home, eſpecially towards the latter end of his Reign, when he had taken away the Pope's Supremacy, excluded

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his Authority, and ſuppreſſed the Abbies and Monaſteries, the chief Fortreſſes and Pillars thereof, either by force of an Act of Parliament, or by vertue of the Reſignations of their Governours, either over-aw'd by fear, or brib'd with Penſions: Not long after which there were ſeveral Commotions in the Land, which might have much ſhaken the Throne, had the Citizens openly ſhew'd any inclination to joyn with theſe diſturbers of the Kings reſt and repoſe, but they continuing quiet, theſe troubles were quickly compos'd, and ſo the foundation, undeſignedly doubtleſs, was laid for a publick Reformation, which was more vigorouſly carried on in the next Kings Reign, though I hardly think it hath yet arriv'd to ſuch perfection, as to render it ſo compleat, as might be piouſly deſired.

Short was the Reign of this pious Prince *Edward* the ſixth, yet not ſo ſhort, but that it gave ſuch an Addition of ſtrength to the Proteſtant Religion, by removing out of the way many of the Relicks of Popery, and openly encouraging the Preaching of the Goſpel, that hitherto it could never be rooted out of the Land, notwithſtanding the damage it ſuſtained under the next Succeſſor, a moſt violent and rigid Papiſt, and the many ſecret Plots and practices of Popiſh Emiſſaries, to undermine it, and introduce Popery again into *England*, prov'd upon them.

Thus was the outward face of Religion viſibly chang'd in the City, under this Religious King, but yet her power we find not in the leaſt diminiſhed, nor the eſteem our great men had thereof, of which we meet with an evident inſtance in Hiſtory, on account of the difference ariſen between the potent Earl of *Warwick*, and ſome of the Privy Council, on the one hand, and the Lord Protector *Seymour*, the Kings Maternal Uncle, on the other.

The Privy Counſellors, having deſigns upon the Protector, and withdrawing themſelves from Court, got to *London* with their attendance, and taking poſſeſſion of the Tower, made it their buſineſs to ſecure the City to their ſide, by ſending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to *Ely* houſe in *Holborn*, where they were aſſembled, and entertaining them with a long Oration, about the ill government of the Protector, and the many miſchiefs, that came thereby (as they affirm'd) upon the Kingdom, attended with a requeſt of their joynt aſſiſtance, to help them to remove him, wherein they were ſo ſucceſsful, that, upon the arrival of two Letters almoſt at the ſame inſtant to the Common Council held at *Guildhall*, one from the King and Lord Protector for a thouſand of the City to be arm'd in defence of the Kings Perſon, and the other from the Lords to have two thouſand men to aid them, with the ſame Plea, for defence of the Kings Perſon, and that the City ſhould be well kept with Watches day and night, the Citizens ſhew'd themſelves ſo inclinable to the Lords, that they arm'd an hundred horſe men, and four hundred foot men, in defence of the City, ſuitable to the motion of the Lords, and ſent no Aſſiſtance to the Protector, though it had been deſir'd in the Kings Name, but rather ſuffered a Proclamation, containing diverſe Articles againſt him, to be made in ſeveral Parts of the City, and the Lords were entertain'd with a Dinner at one of the Sheriffs, the eighth of *October* after they had been themſelves in Perſon at *Guildhall*, and on the tenth they din'd at the other Sheriffs; after that by a Common Council the ſame day, in *Stows* Computation, five hundred men of the City had been granted to be ready on the next morning. Evident marks, ſigns, and tokens doubtleſs which way the City bended,

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and the event is a ſufficient confirmation thereof. For the next News, we hear, is the removal of the Protector from about the King, and the ſending him to the Tower, within two or three days after, where an humble Confeſſion and Submiſſion was his beſt ſecurity for that time, by which he got his Liberty ſome time after, and was ſworn again a Privy Counſellor, but no more a Protector.

Had the City ſent him the Aid requeſted, he would poſſibly have had little reaſon to have ſtood in fear of the combined Lords, or had but her Magiſtrates continued Neuters in the Caſe, and not been ſo openly favourable to his Enemies, he might perhaps have been able enough to have cop't with them, with little or no hazard, for he had raiſed much People about *Hampton Court* in the Kings Name, and conveyed him to *Windſor* with a great number of Horſemen and Footmen; But the Strength and Authority of the City was not to be contradicted, much leſs oppoſed. Thus the Protector loſt his Place, and well it might have been haply for the King and Nation, if that had been all. For his Enemies having remov'd him from his Protectorſhip, and thereby gain'd the greater acceſs of Power to themſelves, and the Principal of them the politick Earl of *Warwick*, lately created Duke of *Northumberland*, advanced in Title and Honour equal with, and in Authority and Power above the higheſt, whereby his aſpiring thoughts were grown ripe to be put in execution, they were reſolv'd to have the other touch with him for his Life, wherein they made uſe of the Cities Power to ſecure them for his Tryal, by ordering every Houſholder in *London* to take care of his own Family, keep his houſe, and have one ready in

arms upon call for the day time, and that by Night a ſufficient Watch of ſubſtantial Houſholders ſhould be kept in every Ward. So litte durſt they attempt without ingaging the City therein, and ſo frail and tranſitory had been their projecting deſigns, had ſhe refuſed. But with her concurrence what could they not do? So then at laſt tryed the late Protector was, acquitted of Treaſon, and condemned for Felony, and afterwards beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, much againſt the Kings Will, the Conſtables of every Ward in *London* (by vertue of a Precept directed from the Council to the Lord Mayor) ſtrictly charging the Citizens not to ſtir out of their houſes before a prefixt hour, for fear perhaps of a Reſcue, for 'twas known he was well belov'd generally by the People, and plainly evidenced, when, upon a miſtake thinking him acquitted, they gave ſo great a ſhout for joy, that it was heard (*Stow* tells us) from *Weſtminſter-Hall* to *Long-Arce*, to the Lords aſtoniſhment. So fell *Sommerſet* by the malice of his Enemies and weakneſs of his Friends; and we may eaſily believe 'twas not deſign'd the King ſhould be long liv'd, if ſome could prevent it; For they, that ſhot off his good Uncle's Head, would hardly ſtick at attempting ſecretly upon his health and ſecurity, who otherwiſe might have liv'd to avenge the Protectors Death.

But the chief Projector *Northumberland* had but little joy of his ambitious deſigns, though King *Edward* was dead and he had got his two Siſters put by, and the Lady *Jane* his Daughter in Law proclaimed Queen of the Realm, by ſound of Trumpet, through *London*. For when he might have thought himſelf moſt ſecure, then was he moſt diſappointed, and he, that could do ſo much in the City with the Magiſtracy, either for fear or love,

quickly

quickly loſt that branch of his Power, when he was gone from the City, though at the head of an Army, and thereby, in effect, his Life. The ſame Mayor who had before conſented in appearance to ſecure the City for the Lady *Jane*, a little after, upon a motion from the Council, going ſtraight ways and proclaming the Lady *Mary* Queen: And then ſhe was quickly acknowledged for ſuch all over the Land. So that here we ſee two Queens proclaimed in *London* within a very ſhort ſpace of time; but ſhe, who was laſt proclaimed and the Citizens ſtuck to, continued Queen, and the other was laid by as uſeleſs, and afterwards brought to the Block as a guilty Criminal. Had the City ſtuck to the firſt, the other probable had ſtill been counted the Offendor, and might perhaps have ſuffered accordingly: But the Stream was turn'd with the Tide, and it was hard rowing againſt the Current. Queen *Mary* at firſt had addreſſed her ſelf by Letter to the Lord Mayor to proclaim her, and the Cities affections may be thought inclinable from the beginning unto her, be it only from *Northumberland's* expreſſion of his thoughts to the Lord *Gray*, in his paſſage through *Shoreditch* with his Army againſt her and her Forces, who obſerved that the People preſſed to ſee them, but could not hear one that bid them Gods ſpeed. Is it ſo conſiderable to have the Voice of the Citizens, how much more than their Hearts? Thus came in Queen *Mary*, and with her Popery upon the Proteſtants ſhoulders. For the *Suffolk* men were the firſt, that eſpous'd her Intereſt, upon Condition, that ſhe would make no alteration in Religion, which ſhe then moſt readily promiſed, but kept it afterwards like a Papiſt, *i. e.* broke it; and 'tis ſomewhere obſerved, that many more of that Country ſuffered for Religion in the

Marian Perſecution, than of any other. So ſutable ſhe acted to that avow'd Principle of her own Religion, that no faith is to be kept with Hereticks, a poſition publickly authorized by the Council of *Conſtance*, and often ſince confirmed by many undeniable Inſtances and Examples. But 'twas well for her that the City of *London* (whoſe concurrence with the reſt of the Nation firſt mounted her up into the Throne, and from whoſe Citizens ſhe received ſo great reſpect the day before her Coronation by coſtly Pageants, thoſe dumb ſhews, of reſpect and other honorary expreſſions of their affections) continued firm in their Allegiance, otherwiſe ſhe might perchance have paid dear enough for the breach of her promiſe upon Sir *Thomas Wyats* inſurrection. For could he but have got into the City, either by the *Bridge* or by *Ludgate*, how much of his purpoſe he might have brought to effect, is eaſier to be gueſſed, than declared in ſo uncertain a matter. But he was repulſed at both places, and deceived in his expectations and hopes of aid from *London*, he himſelf was taken, his party routed, and all his deſigns vaniſhed into ſmoak, to the loſs of his own life and ruin of many of his principal Friends and Followers. So unſucceſsful is an enterprize (on what grounds ſoever and appearing likelyhood of ſucceſs at firſt undertaken) wherein the Londoners refuſe to ingage themſelves; whereas had but the City joyn'd her Forces to *Wyats*, let him in within her Walls, and not ſtood firm to the Queens Intereſt, he might perhaps have been able to have commanded what Conditions he pleaſed. Of this we may well believe the Queen and Court were extreamly ſenſible. For we find the Queen herſelf, her Lords, and her Ladies, came from *Weſtminſter* to *Guildhall*, where the Commons of the City were aſſembled in their Liveries, before

before *Wyat* drew near to the City, and by fair words and promiſes endeavour'd to confirm the Citizens minds, and ſatisfie them of the ſincerity of her own intentions, and the inſolent behaviour of her Enemies: Which I think was no more than the caſe required, and the neceſſity of her affairs obliged her to for her own ſecurity. The five hundred Men, which the City, at the Lord Treaſurers requeſt, had ſent out ready Arm'd to oppoſe that inſurrection, having turn'd to the other ſide at the perſwaſion of their Captain and Leader, and there being ſo great a Conſternation at *Weſtminſter* upon *Wyats* approach, that the Serjeants at Law, and other Lawyers pleaded in their harneſs. But the Queens Speech having ſecur'd the generality of the Citizens affections, ſtrict Watch and Ward continued to be kept in *London*, the Mayor and Sheriffs Commanded each Man to ſhut down their Shop-windows, and ſtand ready Arm'd at their Doors, they themſelves being likewiſe in Armour, the draw-bridge was cut down, the Bridg-gate ſhut, and convenient forces ſent to keep it, and others ſet in fit places of the City, whereby *Wyat*'s purpoſe was defeated, and his expectations of aſſiſtance fruſtrated, as he himſelf complain'd in the Meſſage he ſent the *Londoners* by Merchant *Dorell*, upon his March out of *Southwark* toward *Kingſtone*. For before he came with ſuch confidence towards *London*, that he hoped for preſent entrance. An eminent inſtance doubtleſs of the Cities great power and the influence it had on that bold undertaking, which ſeems to have ſtood and fallen e'en as *London* ſtood affected and influenced.

But though the Queen prevail'd thus upon the Londoners, yet death could not be brib'd, nor

ſham'd, by any promiſes or pretences, for die ſhe muſt, and die ſhe did, after a ſhort, though bloody Reign, of five years and ſomewhat better, and ſo way was made for the famous and ever Renowned Queen *Elizabeth*, of bleſſed Memory, in whoſe entrance into the Throne we find the Londoners intereſting themſelves, notwithſtanding ſhe was publickly known, to be of a quite different Religion from that at preſent Eſtabliſhed; ſhe being forthwith Proclaimed in *London*, upon knowledge and notice given of her Siſter Queen *Maries* Death, and coming from *Hatfield* within three or four days after, *Stow* tells us, ſhe was very dutifully and honourably met by the Lord Mayor, and the whole eſtate of *London*, and ſo conducted to the Charter-houſe; and ſome time after Rode through the City in great Majeſty to *Weſtminſter* to her Coronation: At which Solemnity the Citizens gave her ample demonſtrations of their affections, by the ſtately Pageants and ſumptuous Shews, wherewith they entertain'd her. Her ſettlement caus'd the Reduction, encreaſe, and progreſs of the Proteſtant Religion in *England*, and under the auſpicious influence of her Reign the City flouriſh'd to ſuch an height of Grandeur, whether we reſpect the concourſe of Forreign Merchants from abroad, or the ſtatelineſs of her publick buildings at home, the freedom and ſecurity of Traffick, and the flowing in of Riches and Wealth thereby, the famous exploits perform'd by her Citizens in other Countries and Climates, and the foundation in thoſe times laid for much greater atchievements, by the neceſſary preparatives of skill and knowledge in Military affairs, gain'd by the more frequent Muſters, and Warlike exerciſes of her Inhabitants, than in former times, or learn't at that Grand Nurſery of Soildiers

Souldiers, the Artillery Garden, that 'tis eaſie to conjecture how ſecure her Majeſty was in the Ctiizens love and loyalty, and how happy they thought themſelves in the favour and protection of ſo good, great, and gracious a Princeſs.

'Tis not therefore to be expected, that ſuch turns and changes ſhould occur in her days, wherein the City might have occaſion to interpoſe her Authority, to ſettle and ſecure the Nation againſt the furious attempts of arbitrary Pretenders, or lye under any unavoidable neceſſity of ſhewing her Power and Influence over it, in contradiction to other mens aſpiring and ambitious Deſigns. However I am not deſtitute of an Inſtance, to demonſtrate the conſequence of her Example, and how much all *England* was influenced thereby to the manifeſtation of their zeal, love, and duty to their Soveraign. In 88. a year ſo famous for the Spaniſh Invaſion, the Queens Counſel had demanded, what the City would do for her Majeſty and their Country, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had referr'd it to their Honours to make their Propoſals; whereupon fifteen Ships and five thouſand Men being required, and two days reſpite at the Cities deſire granted for Anſwer, they returned in convenient time and ſeaſon, and entreated their Lordſhips, in ſign of their perfect love and loyalty to their Prince and Country, (they are *Stows* words) kindly to accept ten thouſand Men, and thirty Ships amply furniſhed, double the number of what was asked, and even as *London* (ſaith my Author) gave Preſident, the whole Nation kept ranck and equipage; ſo ready were the other Cities, Counties, Towns and Villages to follow where *London* went before. A plain inſtance of her powerful influence, deny it who can.

As

As to what concerns the frequency of the visits the Queen made to *London*, and the great splendor, wherewith they commonly welcom'd her home at the end of her Country progresses, I pass them all over, though undeniable demonstrations of the present content and satisfaction they took in Queen *Elizabeths* good Government: Neither shall I take notice of the many Companies of Soldiers she several times rais'd at her own charges for her Soveraigns Assistance, it having been commonly done before, under Princes in whom she took delight, because I would hasten to King *James*, the first Monarch of great *Britain*, in whose Person *England* and *Scotland* were first united, though his present Majesty, King *James's* Grand-son, was the first born Heir of that happy Union, that was Crowned King of both Realms, and the first English King by Birth of the Scottish race, that ever sate upon the English Throne that we read of.

To tell how this City flourish'd under this Prince in wealth and riches, in a general encrease of trade, by forreign Merchandizes and home-made Manufactures: The great ornament she received from her publick and private buildings, the strength that accrued to her by the numerousness of her Inhabitants, and the enlarging her borders, the conveniences procur'd her for water by *Midleton's* River, for Recreations by *Morefields*, and pleasantness by pav'd Streets, and the various expressions she made of her glory in the many noble Entertainments of King *James* and other great personages, Forreigners and Natives, and the rich presents she frequently gave, besides the renown she got abroad by sending greater Numbers of her Ships, than formerly, into all trading Parts of the World, and planting Colonies of her own people in *Ireland* and

and *Virginia*, would be tireſome perhaps to the Reader, and needleſs for the Writer; ſince that in *Stows* Chronicle, continued by *Howe*, theſe particulars have been ſo largely treated of, whether the curious and inquiſitive may apply themſelves for further ſatisfaction. Neither ſhall I trouble my ſelf with making large remarks upon the great honour and dignity, for the City's ſake, belonging to the Lord Mayor thereof, of which we ſeem to have an Inſtance in the beginning of this Kings reign, when Sir *Robert Lee*, then Lord Mayor of *London*, ſubſcrib'd in the firſt place to the invitation ſent the King to come into *England*, before all the great Officers of the Crown, and all the Nobility; This great Magiſtrate, upon the Kings death, being ſaid to be the prime perſon of *England*, than which what greater honour can there be appertaining to a Subject? I have indeed read in *Cotton*, that upon a Poll Bill the Lord Mayor paid four pound as an Earl many years ago, in King *Richard* the ſecond days, when but few of the Nobility, if any beſides the blood Royal, bore any higher title: And find ſince at our Kings Coronations that he hath had a principal place and part aſſigned him, particularly at his preſent Majeſties, *April* 23*d*. 61. and in the honourable Cavalcade made from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter* the day before, in order thereunto, where the Suppliment to *Baker's* Chronicle, out of *Elias Aſhmole* the *Windſor* Heralds Copy, hath placed him between the principal Officers of the Crown and the Duke of *York*, a place doubtleſs deſigned him as moſt ſuitable to his Dignity, and the high Office he bore; and yet I count none of theſe Honours comparable to that before mentioned, which ſeems paramount to all others. To be the higheſt by place in the Kingdom of courſe for a ſeaſon ſounds

greater

greater, than to be a Second, a Third, or a Fourth, and is more doubtleſs to the Honour, Credit, and Reputation of the City, that conferrs this place as ſhe pleaſes.

But the chiefeſt point I intend here to inſiſt on, with all convenient brevity and perſpicuity, is the Declaration of the Cities love and affection to King *James*, and the requital made her by him in return. The firſt I know not how it could be better expreſſed, than by the wonderful readineſs, and hearty gladneſs (as the Annaliſt words it) of the great City of *London*, where the Magiſtrates, and all other inferior Citizens ſhewed all poſſible ſigns of perfect joy and contentment, amidſt the general applauſe of the whole Engliſh Nation, when he was firſt proclaimed King of the Realm; and we have further demonſtrations thereof from the Kings honourable Reception, when he came near to *London*, by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in Scarlet Robes, and five hundred grave Citizens in Velvet Coats and Chains of Gold, all very well mounted like the Sheriffs and their train, one of which had three-ſcore men attending him in fair livery Cloaks. Another inſtance may be the care taken in *London* to watch and guard the Gates, upon the firſt diſcovery of the Gun-powder Treaſon, and the great joy and rejoycing manifeſted therein ſoon after, upon its further detection, by filling the Streets with Bonfires, and the Solemn Aſſemblies with publick praiſes and thankſgiving to the Almighty for the Kings happy Deliverance. This Gunpowder Treaſon (ſo to obſerve by the way) was one of the ſeven particulars the Intelligencer tells us were ſometime ſince ſet up in a Table in St. *Martins* Church at *York*, under this Title, *Things never to be forgotten by Proteſtants*. The other ſix were, The bloody

Reign

Reign of Queen *Mary*. The many Plots in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign. The Maſſacre in *Ireland* in Forty one. The horrid Murder of King *Charles* in One thouſand Six hundred and Forty eight. The burning of *London* in One thouſand Six hundred and Sixty ſix. And the horrid Popiſh-plot in One thouſand Six hundred and Seventy eight. An Inſcription, that ſome harmleſs well meaning perſons would have been apt doubtleſs to have thought very honeſt in its ſelf, and deſervedly written in Letters of Gold, till an Order came to one of the Church Wardens to take it down, or appear at the Spiritual Court to anſwer the Contempt: For 'twas above the ordinary Capacity of a Common lay-Proteſtant to apprehend any thing ill or offenſive therein, till ſuch wits among the Clergy, as had far more ſagacious intellects, perceived the drift and deſign thereof, and judging it perhaps to be part of the Presbyterian Plot, might think fit to have it thrown down, that the Vulgar might be no more amus'd with the dreadful remembrance of ſuch things.

But to return to the Cities Love and Loyalty to King *James*, another remarkable proof thereof may be deduced from the double Guards ſet in all places about *London*, the Precept iſſued out by the Lord Mayor to the Wards to raiſe the Train Bands, and the unexpreſſible diſtraction of Mens minds, upon a flying rumour ſuddenly ſpread about the City *March* 22*d*. (ſomewhat above four Months after the Powder Plot was diſcovered) of the Kings being ſlain that morning at *Oking*, ſome twenty Miles from *London*, which occaſioned great weeping and wailing and much lamentation in old and young, rich and poor, till in three or four hours time all theſe Clouds were happily diſpers'd by better and more certain

tain news brought of the Kings safety, and his return to *Whitehall* thereupon the same afternoon, where the peoples hearts were as much raised with joy, as before they had been drowned in grief, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen went to congratulate his Majesty upon the assurance of his continued Health and Security.

Such were the expressions of the Cities affections, let us now see the return of Kindness on the Kings part, and his Princely acknowledgment of their singular love and loyalty to him. Much doubtless of the Kings mind in this particular may be guessed at from the frequent Visits he made the City, but I presume by no one Act of his better known, than by his repaying the Citizens of *London*, in the seventh of his Reign, the Threescore thousand pounds they had lent Queen *Elizabeth* three years before her death. An Act of the greatest Justice and Equity, and whereby likewise he got more love, saith the Chronicle, than he paid mony. This may pass both for an Example of the Kings Goodness and Prudence, and an Instance of *Londons* Power and Esteem, since his Majesty thought it good to be at such charges to oblige her. For to pay their Predecessors Debts is so rare among Princes, that many of them hardly ever pay their own.

Hitherto have I presented the Reader with variety of passages out of our English Chronicles, to demonstrate the Glory, Honour, and Renown of the City of *London*, and the Courage of her Citizens, the Power of her Magistrates, the Strength of the Commonalty, and the undeniable Influence of the whole Corporation upon the rest of the Kingdom; and have given him here and there the words and expressions of private men, as so

many

many illuſtrative Arguments on the Points. Wherefore now I ſhall produce no leſs than what I account a Royal Teſtimony, in confirmation of the many demonſtrative Evidences already brought, and that of no leſs a Prince than his preſent Majeſties Royal Father, King *Charles* the Firſt, and out of an Author ſo little partial to the City, that the very name of *Peter Heylin*, and the diligent peruſal of Arch-Biſhop *Lauds* Life, by him writ, may ſufficiently convince an indifferent Reader, that he was none of *Londons* greateſt Favourers or Admirers, ſince 'twas look'd on as the Retreat and Receptacle of the Grandees of the Puritan faction, as he is pleaſed to ſtile all thoſe he thought contrary to that Party of Men, he will needs call the Church of *England*. A Proof therefore out of ſuch an Adverſary's mouth, as *Heylins*, ſeems a very convincing Argument, when he himſelf is forced, meerly by truth and matter of fact, to confeſs and acknowledge the influence of *London* on all parts of the Kingdom, in that paſſage, where he intimates it to have been generally look't upon *as the compaſs, by which the leſſer Towns and Corporations were wont to ſteer their courſe, and to plead it's practice on all occaſions.*

What I conceive to be the Kings Teſtimony by that writer deliver'd, is by him brought in, as the reaſon of his Majeſties preferring *Laud* to the Biſhoprick of *London*, *viz.* For that he was a Man of a more active Spirit than the former Biſhop, and ſo fitter to carry on the deſign of rendring the City conformable to that propos'd Model of Church Government, which was intended for the whole Nation, and therein therefore principally to be promoted, *becauſe of the Influence it had, by reaſon of it's wealth and trading, on all parts of the Kingdom, and that upon the correſpondence and conformity*

mity thereof the welfare of the whole depended. This Teſtimony doubtleſs is of great authority, becauſe proceeding from ſo Judicious a Prince, and related by an Author not to be ſuppos'd over ready to write any thing in favour of this City, to which he ſeems to have born a very great animoſity, becauſe the Citizens would not be ſo thorough-pac'd Epiſcopal, as his Reverend Doctorſhip would have had them to have been. But now methinks it ſhould be of greater prevalency than ever, ſince that King *Charles* himſelf, before he dyed, out of his own experience knew much more of the Cities ſtrength and Power, than many of his Predeceſſors did for ſome ages before. For 'tis plain beyond denial, diſpute, or contradiction, out of the memory of Man and the everlaſting Records of time, that in the late Wars between him and his two Houſes of Parliament, 'twas the Cities power and influence, that rais'd them to that height of Grandeur, which made them ſo formidable to all the Royal party. Whereas, without her help and aſſiſtance, how little able they had been to have long ſubſiſted, or held up their heads above ground, is evident from the many ſupplies they had from *London*, of Men, Mony, and Arms, the frequent applications they made to her on all extremities, and the conſtant endeavours they us'd to cultivate her friendſhip, and preſerve her affections. But over theſe Tranſactions I ſhall chooſe rather to caſt a vail of ſilence, than induſtriouſly endeavour to lay open the bleeding wounds of the Nation in thoſe days, as being fully aſſur'd of the impoſſibility of guiding my pen ſo dextrouſly in delivering the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as not to ſubject my ſelf to cenſure, nor incur the anger, diſpleaſure, and indignation of any

one,

one. Suffice it then to say, that, in the long Vacation of Parliaments under King *Charles* the first, such seeds of discontent were sown, in City, as well as Country, that upon the first opportunity, they sprung up into bitter herbs, and sour fruit, and who tasted most thereof, I think all the *European* world knows sufficiently by this time of day.

But if any in this age is so ignorant, as to wonder how it was possible for the two Houses in forty one to bear up against the King, without being dismis'd from *Westminster* by vertue of the Kings Prerogative, the usual method of ancient times, and the known practice of later days, he is to know and understand, that his late Majesty had formally pass'd away his grand Power of Prorogations, Adjournments, and Dissolutions by an Act of Parliament, and so put the staff out of his own hands, that he could never recover, as long as he lived, by force nor intreaty. An act of Grace this was, that is hardly to be parallel'd, and yet perhaps it may be likened to the Statute made in the second of *Richard* the second, of which I have made mention before, against abrupt and untimely dismissions, only that this is plainer worded, and seems enlarged to a further extent. Otherwise, considering the use that might have been possibly made of the former, it might have look't like the same book with additions new Printed in *Octavo*, which before was bound up in *decimo sexto*. Neither of these are to be found in our New Printed Statute books, they pretending not to set down all the Antiquated, Repeal'd, or expir'd Statutes, that ever were in being. Therefore if any one desires to humour his curiosity, he must apply himself to *Cottons* Abridgment of the *Tower* Records for the one, and search after the other in some of those books, that treat

of the affairs of the late times. Now the *Observator* in such a case tells us of *Scobel* and *Husbands* Collections: Upon which so Authentick an Authority, as some esteem it, if we have recourse to *Scobels* Collections of the best Edition, 'tis ten thousand to one but we shall there find the Statute in this manner following. *Whereas great summs of mony must of necessity be speedily advanced and provided for the relief of His Majesties Army and People in the Northern parts of this Realm, and for preventing the imminent danger this Kingdom is in, and for supply of other His Majesties present and urgent occasions, which cannot be so timely effected as is requisite, without Credit for raising the said monies, which credit cannot be obtained, until such obstacles be first removed, as are occasioned by fears, jealousies, and apprehensions of divers his Majesties Loyal Subjects, that this present Parliament may be Adjourned, Prorogued, or Dissolved, before Justice shall be duly executed upon Delinquents, publick grievances redressed, a firm Peace between the two Nations of* England *and* Scotland *concluded, and before sufficient provision be made for the repayment of the said monies so to be raised: All which the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having duly considered, do therefore humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty, that it may be declared and Enacted; And be it declared and enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That this present Parliament now Assembled shall not be dissolved, unless it be by Act of Parliament to be passed for that purpose, nor shall be at any time or times during the continuance thereof, Prorogued, or Adjourned, unless it be by Act of Parliament, to be likewise passed for that purpose: And that the House of Peers shall not at any time or times during this*

this present Parliament, be Adjourned, unless it be by themselves or by their own Order: And in like manner, that the House of Commons shall not at any time or times during this present Parliament be Adjourned, unless it be by themselves, or by their own order: And that all and every thing and things whatsoever done or to be done, for the Adjournment, Proroguing or Dissolving of this present Parliament contrary to this Act, shall be utterly void, and of none effect.

This Act in General prov'd the destruction of that branch of the Royal Prerogative, which related to calling or dissolving Parliaments; and that particular clause in the end, *that all and every thing and things whatsoever done or to be done, for the Adjournment, Proroguing or dissolving of this present Parliament contrary to this Act, shall be utterly void, and of none effect*, was, we may believe from subsequent passages, a Plea, the wits of the age durst have ventur'd to have stood by, against any attempts to discontinue, disappoint, or frustrate the meeting of the two Houses of Parliament, if they had Spirit and Courage enough to have own'd any thing of the Law. So that upon a groundwork so firm, and a foundation so sure, the Parliamentarians valued not all the subtile Arts and devices of their Enemies, nor stood in fear of those Mercurial Engines, Pen Ink and Paper, so they could but defend themselves against those Martial Arguments, the bright-shining Sword, and the thundring Cannon. By vertue of this Clause we may conclude, that, after the House of Commons was violently depriv'd of many Members thereof, the House of Lords wholly put down, and that small remainder of a Parliament forc'd out of Doors by *Oliver* and the Soldiers, after two Protectors, and several Assemblies, that took on them the vener-

able Name of Parliaments, and some of them too chosen by the People, part of the Commons House nevertheless again got into power, and being once more thrust out by the Army, afterwards Recover'd possession, and the whole House was in a fair likelyhood to have been fill'd up by the Readmission of the secluded Members, till they, to make way for a greater turn, did all, that lay in the power of a single House, to dissolve the Parliament, which with us consists of the King and his two Houses.

Treating now of the late times, and having drawn a vail over the Transactions in the last Wars, wherein the City was more particularly concern'd, (though 'tis well known, that her power and Influence was very considerable in the many turns and changes, through which the State was then hurried) I shall not stand to shew, how much she was Courted by *Oliver* and the rest of the Usurping powers on all emergencies, and the great care was taken to secure her to their interest and party, though both are touch'd upon in the supplement to *Bakers* Chronicle; but passing all over I come now to demonstrate, the great influence she had upon the Nation in that remarkable turn of the times, which produc'd so unparallel'd a wonder, as the peaceable Restauration of an exil'd Prince to his Father's Crown and Kingdom without blood: Which to prove I need go no further than the aforesaid supplement, where several evidences and convincing circumstances are to be found, (besides matters of fact already else where related) and I doubt not but sufficiently demonstrative. These to Marshal in their order, I begin first of all with the Citizens discontentedness at the Committee of safety, and *Fleetwoods* doubtfulness

of

of them, and proceed to General *Monk's* Letter ſent to the Lord Mayor and Common Council (ſome time after he had declared his Reſolution to reduce the Military power under the Civil, though principally intending, we are ſince told, the Kings Reſtauration) to heigthen their differences, wherein, upon a Declaration of his open intentions, he expreſſes his Expectation of their Aſſiſtance, leſt it ſhould be too late for them by their own ſtrength to aſſert their freedom, if he miſcarried through the want of their timely aid, and diſhonourable, if he ſucceeded, for ſo Famous a City and ſo much concern'd, that it's Liberties ſhould be aſſerted without its own help. In the next place comes the encouragement, the Letter ſent from ſome of the old Council of State privately met at *London*, (among whom we find Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, that Fam'd Earl of *Shaftsbury*, a Principal Agent through the whole courſe of thoſe affairs, and an active Inſtrument in bringing in the King) to *Monk*, brought his Officers in *Scotland*, and the reaſon given thereof, *viz.* That the wiſeſt of them did conclude from theſe appearances of action at *London*, that their party was encreaſed in *England*, imagining that otherwiſe they durſt not have ſo openly acted. Then follows the Intelligence he receiv'd, when at *Coldſtream*, from his Brother *Clarges*, that there were many great differences in *London*, between *Fleetwood* and the City; that the Prentices, and ſeveral others in favour of him, had many Conſultations to make diſturbances, and were framing a Petition to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, to preſs their interpoſition for the reſtoring the Parliament, and preſervation of Magiſtracy, their riſing in a Tumultuous manner, upon a Proclamation emitted by the Committee of

Safety to prohibit all gathering of hands to Petitions, and the ſhutting up of Shops upon *Hewſon*'s coming to ſuppreſs them, the affronts put upon his Soldiers by ſcornful reproaches and Hiſſings to that degree, that they were aſham'd to March, and many Officers, when they went into the City, durſt not wear their Swords, for fear of the like; and, which was as material as any, that the Lord Mayor and ſeveral Aldermen had had many ineffectual Treaties with *Fleetwood* and the Chief of the Army and Committee of Safety; the City demanding the mannagement and conduct of their own Militia, and the inſtant Reſtauration of the Parliament, or the calling another, which being refus'd much augmented their diſcontents. Theſe were Preparatives to the reſitting of part of the Commons houſe, which ſoon after was invited to reaſſume their former power. Enter next to General *Monk* at *Morpeth*, the Sword bearer of *London*, with a very reſpectful Letter from the Lord Mayor and Common Council. After this we hear of *Clarges*'s Advice to *Monk*, to get the Parliament Soldiers remov'd out of *London*, and to march his own men in thither, ſo to be Maſter of the City, with the reaſon laid down, that otherwiſe he could never expect to do any good for his Country; ſince in all thoſe times it had been experienced, that to whatever was done at *London*, where they had nine or ten thouſand men to juſtifie their actions, all the reſt of the Regiments ſubmitted. Now follow Commiſſioners from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of *London* to the General, and their Propoſition for the readmiſſion of the ſecluded Members that the Parliament might be made full and free. Then the diſcontented carriage of the City, the high debates in the Common Council

about

about the Government, and their reſolution to pay no publick Taxes, till the Houſe were filled up with equal Repreſentatives. After this the Generals interceſſion to thoſe then of the Commons Houſe for a mitigation of their Commands laid on him, among other ſeverities, to take down *London's* Gates and Portcullices, for this reaſon, that ſuch ſevere acting would highly incenſe the City, and the Compliment of thanks, to pleaſe the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, ſent them from the Houſe for their moderation in that time of diſorder in the City. But to cloſe all with a ſutable inſtance, *Clarges's* Counſel to General *Monk*, to endeavour the ſpeedy recovery of the City's good opinion, almoſt loſt by his rough actings therein juſt before, brings up the rear, with the effectual repreſentation he made him of the ill Conſequences of his proceedings in *London*, and the prevalent motives, urgent reaſons, and good grounds laid down by him, to back his Advice. 'As, that the influence the City had by com-'merce, and other Occaſions, all over *England*, 'would quickly diffuſe the Infamy of the Fact: And 'all the Cities and Towns would be alarm'd, believ-'ing, if that great City ſhould be made a Village, 'that all their Franchiſes and Priviledges would be 'quickly ſubverted. So that he had no way to re-'deem his Reputation, but the very next morning 'to return into the City with his Army, and declare 'for a free Parliament. This Counſel preſently followed terminated in a ſucceſsful event, and very happy to King and Kindgdom, by the Miraculous Reſtauration of his moſt gracious Majeſty, *Charles* the Second, to his Patrimonial inheritance, and the Throne of his Father.

Thus have I muſter'd up my Evidences in Rank and File, all which conjoyn'd, like the old Country-

man's rods in the Fable bound up together in one bundle, will make doubtless a very convincing Argument of the great power and influence *London* had upon the Nation in this grand turn of the Times. I shall therefore leave it to the Reader to make suitable remarks thereon, it being so obvious to an unprejudic'd Person, that great was the encouragement General *Monk* and his Officers receiv'd from *London*, considerable was the hope and confidence he put therein, when he undertook so Heroick an Enterprise, as the freeing his poor Country from the Tyranical exorbitancies of the unruly Soldiers, and thought of marching up thither in Arms with all convenient speed to that end; and most highly advantagious to his Designs was the unanimous concurrence of this great, honourable, and powerful City, which was not so furiously rash, presently to attempt to run down the encroachers upon their dearly belov'd Liberties, when they might with greater ease, and as effectually, gently walk them down, as a certain Person is said to have express'd it on a much later Occasion. The City petition'd and address'd, and she was follow'd by the Country: She waited a while with patience, and the secluded Members, that were chosen in forty, and from forty eight kept out of the house till fifty nine, for almost twelve years space, were restor'd in peace and quietness, though under some few Obligations; And so there was again the face of a House of Commons: Being restor'd, they dissolv'd themselves in a short time after, to make way for another assembly, call'd a Parliament, though some thought in those times that the Parliament of Forty had been dissolv'd long before by his late Majesties death, and so might haply think this a needless Ceremony.

It

It being moſt certain, that that Parliament ow'd its beginning to the Kings Writ, although its continuance was thought to depend on the continuing Act, as long as the King liv'd. Yet, notwithſtanding the Houſe of Commons had actually diſſolv'd themſelves, and it was become the receiv'd opinion that the Parliament of Forty was in Law diſſolv'd before upon the old Kings death, the next Aſſembly, *Stylo Communi* Parliament, would not barely ſtick to either of theſe ways, but thought good likewiſe themſelves, by vertue of their Authority to declare that Parliament of Forty diſſolv'd. Whether or no they thought, that the bare Act of a ſingle houſe of Commons, without King and Lords, could not in Law be took for a formal Repeal of the former continuing Act, made by King, Lords, and Commons joyntly, and ſo rejected it, as really inſignificant in its ſelf, though made uſe of for the time; and out of a Cautious foreſight dreaded ſome ill conſequences attending the receiv'd opinion, [of the long Parliaments being diſſolv'd by the Kings death, whether or no the continuing Act were formally repeal'd by as good Authority as made it] left thence in time, no body knows when, occaſion might be taken to argue, that if a Kings death repeals one unlimited Act, it may likewiſe on the ſame ground vacate all by him made, and ſo, by affirming the ſame of all other Princes ſince the firſt *William*, a foundation might be laid for the Introduction of Arbitrary Power, when evil minded Pretenders are abſolute enough to attempt it with hopes of Impunity, I pretend not to determine. For I remember my ſelf to be a Relater of matters of Fact, not a Reader of Law Caſes.

Therefore I proceed to acquaint the Reader, that

that that Assembly (though call'd without the Kings Writ, yet by his Majesty afterwards most Graciously own'd and acknowledg'd for a Parliament) thought it fitting and convenient, to declare and enact, 'that the Parliament begun and 'holden at *Westminster* the third day of *November*, in 'the sixteenth year of the Reign of the Late King 'Charles of blessed Memory, is fully dissolved and 'determined'. They are the words of the Act to be seen in the Statute-book, *Cap.* 1. 12 *Car.* 2. This was the Assembly that blessed us with his Majesties actual Restauration, towards which there had been made so many steps a little before by the Loyal Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of the Land, and the Worthy Citizens of this Honourable City: Whose publick Reception, and Triumphant Cavalcade through the City of *London* to *White-hall* was very remarkable, for the splendid appearance of the Citizens to conduct him, the Gallantry shewn by them on so acceptable a Solemnity, and the many demonstrations of joy and gladness they gave him, worthy themselves, and that glorious day, which they had so long expected, and contributed so much of their assistance to hasten. For which I have a passage or two more to produce, besides what hath been already brought. For the first, out of the supplement to *Baker*, I quote his Majesties most Gracious Letter, To his Trusty and well-belov'd, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*, wherein he Honourably acknowledges the publick and frequent Manifestations of their affections to him, and the Encouragement and good Example they gave the Nation to assert the Ancient Government, and thereupon concludes with large Promises of Extraordinary kindness to this his Native City, to the Renewal

of

of their Charter, Confirmation of all priviledges granted by his Predeceſſors, and the adding of new favours to advance the Trade Wealth and Honour thereof. The next is a Commemoration of the Cities Joyful Reſentment of this Letter, and the Kings Declaration enclos'd in it, as it was expreſs'd by the Grateful Duty of the Common-Council, who immediately, upon the reading of them, ordered a Preſent of Ten thouſand Pounds to be made to His Majeſty, and a thouſand pounds to each of his Brothers: And likewiſe deputed ſeveral of the Aldermen and worthy Citizens to attend upon His Majeſty from the City, with a Preſentment of their moſt Dutiful acknowledgments for his Clemency and Goodneſs towards them. So deſirous were they to give him the greateſt demonſtrations of their affection and Loyalty before his Return, and Judiciouſly Wiſe, as well as Loyal, to ſet all parts of the Nation a good Example to imitate in a ready manifeſtation of their Duty and Allegiance to him after his Return. Neither in this would they be behind hand with any of them all. For the City of *London*, as being the firſt, the richeſt, and moſt Honourable, and the Seat of Kings for many ages, might Judge it ſelf oblig'd (as the Supplementer inſinuates) in point of duty and Reputation, to exceed all the reſt in the Glory of their performances towards their Soveraign. But whatever the Citizens did think of the Obligation on either ſide, certain enough it is, that the reiterated expreſſions of their Loyalty to the King were Honourable, and Meritorious to the higheſt degree. For to the ſplendor of their former Preparations at his firſt Reception and Triumphal Entrance, they added the coſt of a moſt magnificent Entertainment at *Guild-hal*, (for that very purpoſe richly beautified

and

and adorned) whither the King, his two Brothers, the Lords of the Privy Council, the two Houſes of Parliament, and the chief Officers of State were conducted (*July* the fifth, 1660.) in great Pomp by the Lord Mayor, and the Grandees of the City and treated in a Royal manner with the choiceſt of Delicacies, with excellent Muſick, and whatever elſe could be thought on, or delightful for ſo Illuſtrious an Aſſembly. As if the Citizens thought it not enough to entertain the King, but for his ſake were reſolv'd to put themſelves to the charge of gratifying others for their Loyalty. Where's now the Man can bring me a parallel hereto? General *Monk* appear'd, and *London* concur'd, and then the Houſe of Commons of the Parliament of forty is immediately reviv'd, a face of the Ancient Government reſtor'd, a new Parliamentary Aſſembly call'd, the King ſent for home to enjoy his Fathers Throne, and moſt peaceably ſettled therein without the noiſe of War, or the cries of the wounded in our ſtreets. A Miraculous effect of the Cities influence. For what parts of the Land are ſo inconſiderate to oppoſe, when *London* is engag'd and reſolv'd? Former Examples may teach them future wiſdom.

Theſe having been the neceſſary preparatives, in ſixty one, on Saint *Georges* day, *April* the 23. comes the Kings Coronation, (the faireſt day except the Preceding, in which he made his Cavalcade through *London*, the Nation enjoy'd both before and after, if the ſupplementers Obſervation be well grounded, notwithſtanding it began to Thunder and Lighten very ſmartly towards the end of Dinner time,) and ſoon after that another meeting of King, Lords, and Commons at *Weſtminſter*, whither the Kings Writs had Summoned them

them to make a New Parliament, the former Assembly having been dissolv'd the *December* before by his Majesties Order and Command. How acceptable the Actions of that Assembly were to City and Country hath been hinted before, and the concurrence of the King, when restor'd, was not wanting to Authorize their proceedings; yet this new Assembly, notwithstanding, thinking the manner of it's Assembling not to be drawn into Example, and that therewas some defect, as to the necessary point of Legality, in the Statutes then made, or at least desirous to remove all doubts, fears and scruples about them, would not let several of those Acts pass without being formally ratified, and confirm'd anew by it's own Authority. And therefore consequently, not trusting to the receiv'd opinion of the dissolution of the Parliament of forty by the late Kings Death, nor relying on the House of Commons Act to dissolve themselves in fifty nine, nor the dissolution of the Lords and Commons in sixty, another Declaration was made in the point, in these word. *To the end, that no Man hereafter may be misled into any seditious or unquiet demeanor, out of an opinion that the Parliament begun and held at* Westminster, *upon the third day of* November, *in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and forty, is yet in being, which is undoubtedly dissolved and determined, and so is hereby Declared and Adjudged to be fully Dissolved and Determined.* And it was further Enacted, by the same Authority, *That if any Person or Persons at any time after the four and twentieth day of* June, *in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred sixty and one, shall Malitiously and Advisedly, by Writing, Printing, Preaching, or other Speaking, Express, Publish, Utter, Declare or affirm, that the Parliament begun at* Westminster

minſter *upon the third day of* November, *in the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſix hundred and forty, it not yet diſſolved, or is not yet determined, or that it ought to be in being, or hath yet any continuance or Exiſtence, that then every ſuch Perſon and Perſons ſo as aforeſaid offending ſhall incur the danger and penalty of a Premunire mentioned in a Statute made in the ſixteenth year of the Reign of King* Richard *the ſecond.*

Thus then were all diſputes upon this point effectually ſtil'd and ſuppreſs'd by this Authority and Command of King, Lords and Commons, and the greatneſs of the penalty incur'd by the perſon offending, which amounts to no leſs than to be put out of the Kings Protection, and have his Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels, forfeited to the King, and his Body Attach'd, if to be found, and brought before the King and his Council, there to Anſwer the premiſes, or that proceſs be made againſt him by *Præmunire facias*, and if return'd *non eſt inventus*, than to be Outlaw'd.

Next I proceed to obſerve, that 'twas Petitioning and addreſſing, that prepar'd the way for His Majeſties Reſtauration, and therefore doubtleſs the remembrance thereof ſhould be always grateful and acceptable to the Loyal. Such preparatories to great turns and changes being alwaies preferrable to the other rougher methods of drawn Swords and loaded Piſtols, which are the general effects of Civil Broils and Commotions, while theſe are the rational reſults of Wiſdom and Prudence.

With the King was that part of the Engliſh Clergy likewiſe reſtor'd, which appropriates to it ſelf the name of the Church of *England*. A Term much gloried in by many, as if none but them-

themſelves were the conſtitutive parts thereof, and which ſome now adays pretend freer from Ambiguity than the more general Name of Proteſtants. What we underſtand by that Term we know very well, and are not aſham'd thereof. Yet, by the way, I don't think but 'tis as lyable to exceptions, where Cavils take place, as the other title of Proteſtants, ſo much of late turn'd into ridicule by ſome few pretenders to wit and ſenſe above the vulgar. For if by Church we underſtand barely an Aſſembly of Men met together in one place, then doubtleſs, without any incongruity, it may be applied to many a civil meeting of Men together about their own private concerns. If by Church we mean a ſociety of Men conjoyn'd in Spiritual duties, or the Ordinances of Divine Worſhip, then I hope it will be no Soleciſm in common Speech to affirm, many of the Diſſenters meetings may reaſonably lay claim to the Name. And if a due Celebration of the Sacraments will make a Church, why then may not the Denomination as well belong to ſome private Conventicles, as to the publick Oratories? If it ſhould denote only the Aſſociation of many diſtinct Aſſemblies under the ſame Eccleſiaſtical Government, what ſhould hinder the Preſbiterians from enjoying the Title in thoſe places, where they are allowed to exerciſe their power in Claſſical, Provincial, or National Synods? Which Power they once exercis'd in *England* publickly within the Memory of Man. But if the Law of the Land makes the difference, and the eſtabliſhed Government of the Country in Eccleſiaſtical affairs, as with us in *England*, then I am apt to beleive this Expreſſion, the Church of *England*, is not without it's Ambiguities, and may be a denomination comprehenſive

of

of Men of as many different modes and forms, as ſome would fain have us think the word Proteſtant admits of.

Heretofore at the firſt planting of the Goſpel in this Iſle among the *Britains*, we may call it the Britiſh Church. When *Auſtin* the Monk came in, bringing with him the Cuſtoms and Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, and introduc'd them among the converted *Saxons*, then we may term it the Romiſh Church. When the Monks and Fryers, like the Frogs in *Egypt*, had over-ſpread the whole face of the Land, then we may give it the Epithite of Monkiſh. In ſucceeding Generations, when Popery was arriv'd to its height, we may name it the Popiſh Church. In King *Edward* the ſixth days it may properly be called Reformed. Under the *Marian* Perſecution 'twas certainly Popiſh. Queen *Elizabeth* brought back the Reformed Religion under an Epiſcopal Government, and therefore I venture to give it the Name of the Reformed Epiſcopal Church. A little before the late Wars, when the Hierarchy was arriv'd at its higheſt pitch of Pomp and Grandeur by the *Laudean* principles and practiſes; It was certainly then Prelatical. In the late times 'twas once the Presbyterian, then the Independent Church, and other Sectaries were puting in a pace for a ſhare, and then, had they ſucceeded, it might have been, without much impropriety, entitled to the Epithite of Fanatical. King *Charles* brought back the Biſhops, and ſo now 'tis again Epiſcopal. Should Popery come in, it would be Popiſh. Were there any likelihood of ſo great an Impoſſibility, as the prevalency of Judaiſm, then it would be the *Jewiſh* Church. If *Mahomets* Religion, which hath been publickly profeſs'd in the Pulpit preferable to Presbiterianſm, why might

might it not be allow'd the Title of *Mahometan?* And if we ſhould revert to the Ancient Barbarity, where would the impropriety be, ſhould we term it the Heatheniſh Church? For the Heathens heretofore had the thing, though not the Name, Temples inſtead of Churches, and bloody Sacrifices to make up the greateſt part of their Devotion.

What a fine Company then of different Epithites, of different ſignifications, would theſe be for an impertinent Caviller to prefix before that ſo much applaud'd expreſſion, the Church of *England*, in reply to his impertinence, that would perſwade ſimple ignorant people, that they know not what they ſay, when they call themſelves Proteſtants? Britiſh, Romiſh, Monkiſh, Popiſh, Reformed, Epiſcopal, Prelatical, Presbyterian, Independent, Fanatical, Jewiſh, Mahometan, Heatheniſh, and what not? To ſuch a fine paſs would people once be brought, when they fall to wrangling about words and terms, at the ſame time, that they know one anothers meaning well enough, yet will pretend not to underſtand each other: We may have haply reaſon enough to approve of, and glory in the Name of Church of *England* men, though not perhaps in ſuch a reſtrained ſenſe, as ſome do, yet our grounds, without all peradventure, are as good to apply to our ſelves the glorious Title of Proteſtants, and we can as properly diſtinguiſh our ſelves thereby from Papiſts, as if we term'd our ſelves only Sons of the Church of *England*; under this conſideration, that Proteſtants at firſt were ſuch, *Baker* tells us, as made a Proteſtation in defence of their Doctrine, and now we are ſuch as proteſt againſt Popery and Slavery.

But to return, how contributory this Honourable City was to his Majesties Restauration, and how Loyally affectionate her Citizens shew'd themselves to him before and after, hath been already instanced: Let us then in the next place take a short transient view of her actions, and the accidents hapning to her, under King *Charles* the second, and see whither she hath not continued still the same, as of old, a City of high Renown, Fame and Power, and of great sway and influence all over the Kingdom.

First then let us consider her misfortunes, that we may the better contemplate her glories. In sixty two her Parishes lost many of their beloved Pastors in that great ejection of publick Ministers, among whom were some that had declar'd in Print against the pretended high Court of Justice in the time of his Late Majesties Tryal. In sixty five the great Plague swept away her Citizens by thousands, tens of thousands, and scores of thousands. In sixty six the fire burn'd almost all the Remainder out of House and home, and laid in a manner the whole City in Ashes: So that, if ever, she seem'd then near to a very dismal Catastrophe. And yet we see now Providence hath delivered her out of these her Calamities, and she is become more glorious than ever in the Eyes of the Nation. The number of her Citizens is so encreas'd, and her streets fill'd with such multitudes of people passing to and fro, that those who dyed in the sickness are neither miss'd nor wanted. The fire hath made such a Reformation within her Walls, and the new buildings, publick and private, have been rais'd up, to the admiration of all, in so small a space of time, and in so pompous and stately a form, that she may be thought, like the old *Phœnix* burning

ning in her nest of odoriferous Spices, only to have shaken off her old decay'd feathers by the fire, and out of her own Ashes, *Phœnix* like, to have risen up with more Splendor and Gallantry than ever.

Come we now to the late Discovery of the Grand Popish Plot, and the times succeeding, and therein also we meet with instances of *Londons* influence and Authority with the rest of the Nation. She guarded her self with her own Arms, and how soon was she follow'd in other places? After the dissolution of some of the National Assemblies, (which we English men call Parliaments, and firmly beleive the greatest liberty of the subject to consist therein) upon a new choice, when her Citizens made a publick promise to their chosen Representatives, that they would stand by them with their lives and fortunes: Such a Copy was set the Nation, that most places strove to imitate it, and the Example was as influential, as when before, upon the Cities Petitioning for the sitting of one of those before mention'd Parliaments, Petitions of the same nature came thronging in amain from several parts of the Land in imitation.

Look we now upon the City, and see how intent the eyes of the Nation are fixt upon her actions, and the great contest about the Sheriffs. How all the Land seems concern'd on one side or the other, and think their own well-fare wrapt up in her security. Such sollicitousness of a whole Nation for one particular City must certainly denote some what extraordinary therein: And what is it, can more interest the Nation in her concerns, than the great Influence 'tis known she has upon all their grand affairs, be they more or less publick? Even the very business of the *Quo Warranto*, now depending, will administer an instance of her

Power and Greatneſs. How do all now ſtand ready waiting the Event, depending upon her ſucceſs, or ready to follow her fate?. When the Writ was brought againſt her Charter, how great was the Expectation of the people, and their longings to know what would be the Iſſue? Some Reſign'd, but when *London* appear'd to Stand up in her own Vindication, what a ſtop was there put to Reſignations, and how rare have been ſurrenders ſince? Moſt ſeem now ready to defend themſelves by Law; Nay, *Oxford* hath pitch'd upon the ſame way and method with *London:* Whereas had this Honourable City, but ſurrender'd calmly and quietly, 'tis a queſtion whither any would have ſtood out, or whether rather all Towns and Corporations would not have ſtrove to have out run each other to the Throne of Majeſty, there to have made an intire Reſignation of all their Charters, Liberties, Priviledges and Franchiſes, notwithſtanding the hazard they might have run, by diſſolving their Ancient Corporations, to have loſt back all the Eſtates, given to them as Corporate bodies, to the Donors Heirs, ſutable to the Reply ſaid to be made to the Burgeſſes of a Certain Corporation, when they ask'd advice in the Caſe.

Such having been the influences of the City of *London* all along upon the Nation, and ſuch the undeniable proofs thereof, what then remains, but that we muſt needs acknowledge and confeſs her to be a City moſt Triumphant? Triumphant in the Antiquity of her Foundation, the continuance of her ancient renown, and the Glorious Acts of her Citizens: Triumphant in the Freedom of her Priviledges, the Honourable reſpect ſhewn her Magiſtrates, and the Combined ſtrength of her Commonalty:

Triumph-

Triumphant in the Prevalency of her Power, Victorious ſucceſs of her Arms, and unavoidable Deſtruction of her Enemies. Let us therefore with an united conſent proſtrate our ſelves before the Throne of Grace with this Petitionary requeſt, that ſhe may continue ever fixt and unmovable in her Duty to the Almighty, firm in her Loyalty to the King, and ſecure in an uninterrupted enjoyment of her juſt Rights, Liberties, Priviledges and Franchiſes: A Prayer, whereto I doubt not but every Loyal Engliſh Man, and honeſt well meaning Citizen will readily from his heart ſay, *Amen.*

FINIS.

The Courteous Reader is desir'd to pardon the faults, that have escap'd through inadvertency, either in pointing or spelling, and with his pen to mend the following Errata, as the more material ones.

Pag. 2. *l.* 21. *r.* hundreds. *p.* 14. *l.* 32. *r.* more frequently. *l.* 35. *r.* repell'd. *p.* 15. *l.* 30. *r.* it's. *p.* 29. *l.* 9. *r.* lines. *p.* 44. *l.* 4. *r.* of. *l.* ult. *r.* call'd. *p.* 48. *l.* 4. *r.* elder. *p.* 68. *l.* 4. *r.* might go. *p.* 69. *l.* 31. *r.* plac'd under. *p.* 72. *l.* 22. *del.* in. *p.* 73. *l.* 2. *r.* digest. *l.* 18. *r.* Fabian's. *p.* 75. *l.* 1. came. 76. *l.* 1. *r.* it is. *l.* 7. *r.* let them. *p.* 77. *l.* 6. *r.* bay. *p.* 79. *l.* 8. *r.* 40000. *p.* 83 *l.* 26. *r.* Englishmen. *l.* 32. *r.* came only. *p.* 89. *l.* 29. *r.* are. *p.* 97. *l.* 11. *r.* we may. *p.* 101. *l.* 6. *r.* held. *l.* 21. *r.* his. *p.* 110. *l.* 15. *ad.* 43. *p.* 112. *l.* 27. *r.* yet. *p.* 116. *l.* 5. *r.* of a. *l.* 24. *r.* How. *p.* 117. *l.* 27. *r.* into. *p.* 124. *l.* 4. *r.* hold. *p.* 132. *l.* 27. *r.* clogging. *p.* 133. *l.* 27. *ad.* 111. *p.* 140. *l.* 18. *r.* Brothers. *p.* 142. *l.* 27. *r.* his. *p.* 145. *l.* 10. *r.* chiefs. *p.* 147. *l.* 3. *r.* were. *p.* 152. *l.* 8. *r.* lyon. *l.* 20. *r.* immediatly. *p.* 155. *l.* 11. *r.* were. *p.* 156. *l.* 31. *ad.* it. *p.* 157. *l.* 33. *ad* of the. *l.* 34. *r.* our remark. *p.* 159. *l.* 33. *r.* great forfeiture. *p.* 161. *l.* 6. *r.* added. *p.* 163. *l.* 10. *r.* his. *p.* 164. *l.* 15. *r.* quieter. *l.* 18. *r.* with. *l.* 32. *r.* badge. *p.* 167. *l.* 6. *r.* was. *p.* 168. *l.* 11. *r.* accurs'd *l.* 20. *r.* barbicanes. *p.* 170. *l.* 8. *r.* who. *p.* 172. *l.* 10. *r.* sort. *l.* 11. *r.* plac'd. *p.* 173. *l.* 8. *r.* annates. *p.* 175. *l.* 2. *r.* prejudicial. *l.* 22. *r.* In. *p.* 176. *l.* 28. *r.* Zouch. *p.* 178. *l.* 15. the fam'd. *p.* 181. *l.* 10. demeanours. *p.* 185. *l.* 24. *r.* equally. *p.* 203. *l.* 13. *r.* than. *p.* 215. *l.* 33. *r.* in. *p.* 241. *l.* 2. *r.* old. *p.* 242. *l.* 1. *r.* formally. *l.* 27. *r.* meet. *p.* 248. *l.* 8. and from. *d.* and. *p.* 250. *l.* 7. *r.* culling. *p.* 252. *l.* 32. *r.* unwitting. *p.* 253. *l.* 26. *r.* joynt. *p.* 255. *l.* 24. *r.* for an. *p.* 262. *l.* 23. *r.* Planet-like. *p.* 263. *l.* 28. *r.* Basons. *p.* 265. *l.* 11. *r.* series. *p.* 266. *l.* 30. 31. *r.* Parliament men's. *p.* 273. *l.* 8. *r.* sprung. *p.* 277. *l.* 11. *ad.* 246. *p.* 284. *l.* 33. *r.* wears. *p.* 288. *l.* 12. *r.* suppress. *p.* 290. *l.* 3. made a. *d.* a. *l.* 26. *r.* those. *l.* 30. *r.* fourteen. *p.* 291. *l.* 13. *r.* Poet Bayes's. *l.* 28. *r.* one or other. *p.* 293. *l.* 5. *r.* the Age. *p.* 294. *l.* 9. *r.* all the. *p.* 298 *l.* 11. *r.* Robbery. *l.* 34. *r.* Historical. *p.* 304. *l.* 10. *r.* Informations. *l.* 13. *r.* this. *p.* 305. *l.* 8. *r.* brake. *l.* 10. *r.* Battel. *p.* 306. *l.* 13. *r.* their opinions. *l.* 25. *r.* benefit. *l.* 29. *r.* strength. *p.* 307. *l.* 12. *r.* Observers. *p.* 308. *l.* 29. *r.* after *Towton* Battel. *p.* 311. *l.* 13. *r.* and. *p.* 312. *l.* 14. *d.* had. *p.* 314. *l.* 33. *r.* chosen. *l.* 36. *d.* , as. *p.* 315. *l.* 1. *r.* vigilance of the discerning. *l.* 10. *r.* depart. *p.* 316. *l.* 11. *r.* these her declared. *p.* 115. *l.* 7. *r.* divert. *p.* 320. *l.* 1. *r.* Historian. *l.* 14. *r.* anothers cause. *l.* 21. *r.* her. *l.* 29. *r.* or. *p.* 322. *l.* 27. *r.* humour. *p.* 325. *l.* 3. *ad.* the. *l.* 11. *r.* Burr. *p.* 329. *l.* 26. *r.* blaz'd abroad. *l.* 34. *r.* Parts. *p.* 340. *l.* 3. *r.* little. *p.* 355. *l.* 5. *r.* at any. *p.* 363. *l.* 21. *r.* neither then. *p.* 365. *l.* 20. *r.* Declaration.

There may possibly be found here and there a word or Letter redundant and deficient, which upon the review have been let pass without a Mark, but 'tis hop'd none have pass'd unobserv'd, which may prove injurious to the sence, or justly occasion any mistake, but what an ordinary Reader may easily see and Correct, a confidence in whose candour and good nature is doubtless a far better Apology in this case than to lay the blame at other mens doors.